

BOOK IV.

MELPOMENE.

AFTER the capture of Babylon, Darius's expedition against the Scythians took place ; for as Asia was flourishing in men, and large revenues came in, Darius was desirous of revenging himself upon the Scythians, because they formerly, having invaded the Median territory, and defeated in battle those that opposed them, were the first beginners of violence. For the Scythians, as I have before mentioned,¹ ruled over Upper Asia for eight-and-twenty years. For while in pursuit of the Cimmerians, they entered Asia, and overthrew the empire of the Medes ; for these last, before the arrival of the Scythians, ruled over Asia. Those Scythians, however, after they had been abroad eight-and-twenty years, and returned to their own country, after such an interval, a task no less than the invasion of Media awaited : for they found an army of no inconsiderable force ready to oppose them ; for the wives of the Scythians, seeing their husbands were a long time absent, had sought the company of their slaves. 2. The Scythians deprive all their slaves of sight for the sake of the milk which they drink, doing as follows : when they have taken bone tubes very like flutes, they thrust them into the genital parts of the mares, and blow with their mouths ; while some blow, others milk. They say they do this for the following reason : because the veins of the mare, being inflated, become filled, and the udder is depressed. When they have finished milking, they pour it into hollow wooden vessels, and having placed the blind men round about the vessels, they agitate the milk : and having skimmed off that which swims on the surface, they consider it the most valuable, but that which sub-

¹ See Book I. ch. 103, 105.

sides is of less value than the other. On this account the Scythians put out the eyes of every prisoner they take ; for they are not agriculturists, but feeders of cattle. 3. From these slaves then and the women a race of youths had grown up, who, when they knew their own extraction, opposed those who were returning from Media. And first they cut off the country by digging a wide ditch, stretching from Mount Taurus to the lake Mæotis, which is of great extent, and afterwards encamping opposite, they came to an engagement with the Scythians, who were endeavouring to enter. When several battles had been fought, and the Scythians were unable to obtain any advantage, one of them said, “ Men of Scythia, what are we doing ? by fighting with our slaves, both we ourselves by being slain become fewer in number, and by killing them we shall hereafter have fewer to rule over. Now therefore it seems to me, that we should lay aside our spears and bows, and that every one, taking a horsewhip, should go directly to them ; for so long as they saw us with arms, they considered themselves equal to us, and born of equal birth ; but when they shall see us with our whips instead of arms, they will soon learn that they are our slaves, and being conscious of that, will no longer resist.” 4. The Scythians, having heard this, adopted the advice ; and the slaves, struck with astonishment at what was done, forgot to fight, and fled. Thus the Scythians both ruled over Asia, and being afterwards expelled by the Medes, returned in this manner to their own country : and for the above-mentioned reasons, Darius, desiring to take revenge, assembled an army to invade them.

5. As the Scythians say, theirs is the most recent of all nations ; and it arose in the following manner. The first man that appeared in this country, which was a wilderness, was named Targitaus : they say that the parents of this Targitaus, in my opinion relating what is incredible,—they say, however, that they were Jupiter and a daughter of the river Borys-thenes ; that such was the origin of Targitaus : and that he had three sons, who went by the names of Lipoxais, Apoxais, and the youngest, Colaxais ; that during their reign a plough, a yoke, an axe, and a bowl of golden workmanship, dropping down from heaven, fell on the Scythian territory ; that the eldest, seeing them first, approached, intending to take them up, but as he came near, the gold began to burn ; when he

had retired the second went up, and it did the same again; accordingly the burning gold repulsed these; but when the youngest went up the third, it became extinguished, and he carried the things home with him; and that the elder brothers in consequence of this giving way, surrendered the whole authority to the youngest. 6. From Lipoxais, *they say*, are descended those Scythians who are called Auchataë; from the second, Apoxais, those who are called Catiari and Traspies; and from the youngest of them, the royal race, who are called Paralataë. But all have the name of Scoloti, from the surname of their king; but the Grecians call them Scythians. 7. The Scythians say that such was their origin; and they reckon the whole number of years from their first beginning, from King Targitaus to the time that Darius crossed over against them, to be not more than a thousand years, but just that number. This sacred gold the kings watch with the greatest care, and annually approach it with magnificent sacrifices to render it propitious. If he who has the sacred gold happens to fall asleep in the open air on the festival, the Scythians say he cannot survive the year, and on this account they give him as much land as he can ride round on horseback in one day. The country being very extensive, Colaxais established three of the kingdoms for his sons, and made that one the largest in which the gold is kept. The parts beyond the north of the inhabited districts the Scythians say can neither be seen nor passed through, by reason of the feathers² shed there; for that the earth and air are full of feathers, and that it is these which intercept the view.

8. Such is the account the Scythians give of themselves, and of the country above them: but the Greeks who inhabit Pontus give the following account: *they say*, that Hercules, as he was driving away the herds of Geryon, arrived in this country, that was then a desert, and which the Scythians now inhabit: that Geryon, fixing his abode outside the Pontus, inhabited the island which the Greeks call Erythia, situate near Gades, beyond the columns of Hercules in the ocean. The ocean, they say, beginning from the sun-rise, flows round the whole earth, but they do not prove it in fact; that Hercules thence came to the country now called Scythia, and as a storm and frost overtook him, he drew his lion's skin over him, and

² See chap. 31.

went to sleep ; and in the mean while his mares, which were feeding apart from his chariot, vanished by some divine chance. 9. *They add*, that when Hercules awoke, he sought for them ; and that having gone over the whole country, he at length came to the land called Hylæa ; there he found a monster, having two natures, half virgin, half viper, of which the upper parts from the buttocks resembled a woman, and the lower parts a serpent : when he saw he was astonished, but asked her if she had any where seen his strayed mares. She said that she herself had them, and would not restore them to him before she had lain with him : Hercules accordingly lay with her on these terms. She however delayed giving back the mares, out of a desire to enjoy the company of Hercules as long as she could ; he however was desirous of recovering them and departing ; at last as she restored the mares, she said, “ These mares that strayed hither I preserved for you, and you have paid me salvage, for I have three sons by you ; tell me, therefore, what must I do with them when they are grown up ; whether shall I establish them here, for I possess the rule over this country, or shall I send them to you ? ” She asked this question, but he replied, they say, “ When you see the children arrived at the age of men, you cannot err if you do this : whichever of them you see able thus to bend this bow, and thus girding himself with this girdle, make him an inhabitant of this country ; and whichever fails in these tasks which I enjoin, send out of the country. If you do this, you will please yourself and perform my injunctions. 10. Then having drawn out one of his bows, for Hercules carried two at that time, and having shown her the belt, he gave her both the bow and the belt, which had a golden cup at the extremity of the clasp, and having given them, he departed. But she, when the sons who were born to her attained to the age of men, in the first place gave them names ; to the first, Agathyrsis, to the second, Gelonus, and to the youngest, Scythes ; and, in the next place, remembering the orders, she did what had been enjoined ; and two of her sons, Agathyrsis and Gelonus, being unable to come up to the proposed task, left the country, being expelled by their mother ; but the youngest of them, Scythes, having accomplished it, remained there. From this Scythes, son of Hercules, are descended those who have been successively kings of the Scythians ; and from the cup, the Scythians even to this day wear

cups from their belts. This thing only the mother did for Scythes. Such is the account given by the Greeks who inhabit Pontus.

11. There is another account, to the following effect, to which I myself rather incline. *It is said*, that the Scythian nomades who dwelt in Asia, being harassed in war by the Massagetæ, crossed the river Araxes, and entered the Cimmerian territory : for the country which the Scythians now inhabit is said to have formerly belonged to the Cimmerians. The Cimmerians, when the Scythians invaded them, deliberated, seeing a large army was coming against them ; however, their opinions were divided, which both vehemently upheld, though that of the kings was the best : for the opinion of the people was, that it was necessary to retire, and that there was no need³ to hazard a battle against superior numbers : but the opinion of the kings was, that they should fight to the last for their country against the invaders. When, therefore, neither the people would submit to the kings, nor the kings to the people ; and one party resolved to depart without fighting, and abandon the country to the invaders, whilst the kings determined to die and be buried in their own country, and not fly with the people, considering what great advantages they had enjoyed, and how many misfortunes would probably befall them if they fled from their country : when they had come to this resolution, having divided, and being equal in numbers, they fought with one another ; and the one party, *the royal race*, having all perished, the people of the Cimmerians buried them near the river Tyras ; and their sepulchre is still to be seen. After they had buried them, they then abandoned the country ; and the Scythians coming up, took possession of the deserted country. 12. And there are now in Scythia Cimmerian fortifications and Cimmerian Porthmia⁴ ; there is also a district named Cimmeria, and a bosphorus called Cimmerian. The Cimmerians evidently appear to have fled from the Scythians into Asia, and settled in the peninsula in which the Grecian city Sinope now stands : and it is evident that the Scythians, pursuing them, and entering the Median territory, missed their way ; for the Cimmerians fled constantly by the sea-coast ; whereas the Scythians pursued, keeping C^{aspian} on the right, until they entered the Median territory,

³ See Cary's Lexicon, v. Δέειν, num. 3. ⁴ Passages or f

the midland. This last account is given in common both by Greeks and Barbarians.

13. But Aristeas, son of Caystrobius, a native of Proconnesus, says in his epic verses, that, inspired by Apollo, he came to the Issedones ; that beyond the Issedones dwell the Arimaspians, a people that have only one eye ; and beyond them the gold-guarding griffins ; and beyond these the Hyperboreans, who reach to the sea : that all these, except the Hyperboreans, beginning from the Arimaspians, continually encroached upon their neighbours ; that the Issedones were expelled from their country by the Arimaspians, the Scythians by the Issedones, and that the Cimmerians, who inhabited on the south sea, being pressed by the Scythians, abandoned their country. Thus he does not agree with the Scythians respecting this country. 14. Of what country Aristeas, who made these verses, was, has already been mentioned, and I shall now relate the account I heard of him in Proconnesus and Cyzicus. They say that Aristeas, who was inferior to none of the citizens by birth, entering into a fuller's shop in Proconnesus, died suddenly ; and that the fuller, having closed his workshop, went to acquaint the relatives of the deceased. When the report had spread through the city, that Aristeas was dead, a certain Cyzicene, arriving from Artace, fell into a dispute with those who made the report, affirming that he had met and conversed with him on his way to Cyzicus ; and he vehemently disputed the truth of the report, but the relations of the deceased went to the fuller's shop, taking with them what was necessary, for the purpose of carrying the body away, but when the house was opened, Aristeas was not to be seen either dead or alive. *They say*, that afterwards, in the seventh year he appeared in Proconnesus, composed those verses, which by the Greeks are now called Arimaspians, and having composed them, disappeared a second time. Such is the story current in these cities. 15. But these things I know happened to the Metapontines in Italy, three hundred and forty years after the second disappearance of Aristeas, as I discovered by computation in Proconnesus and Metapontium. The Metapontines say, that Aristeas himself, having appeared in their country, exhorted them to erect an altar to Apollo, and to place near it a statue bearing the name of Aristeas the Proconnesian ; for he said, that Apollo had visited their coun-

try only of all the Italians, and that he himself, who was now Aristeas, accompanied him; and that when he accompanied the god, he was a crow; and after saying this, he vanished; and the Metapontines say they sent to Delphi to inquire of the god what the apparition of the man meant; but the Pythian bade them obey the apparition, and if they obeyed, it would conduce to their benefit: they accordingly, having received this answer, fulfilled the injunctions. And now a statue bearing the name of Aristeas is placed near the image of Apollo, and around it laurels are planted: the image is placed in the public square. Thus much concerning Aristeas.

16. No one knows with certainty what is beyond the country, about which this account proceeds to speak; for I have not been able to hear of any one who says he has seen them with his own eyes; nor even did Aristeas, of whom I have just now made mention, say in his poems, that he went farther than the Issedones, but of the parts beyond he spoke by hearsay, stating that the Issedones gave him his information. But as far as we have been able to arrive at the truth with accuracy from hearsay, the whole shall be related. 17. From the port of the Borysthenitæ, for this is the most central part of the sea-coast of all Scythia, the first people are the Callipidæ, being Greek-Scythians; beyond these is another nation, called Alazones. These and the Callipidæ, in other respects, follow the usages of the Scythians, but they both sow and feed on wheat, onions, garlic, lentils, and millet; but beyond the Alazones, dwell husbandmen, who do not sow wheat for food, but for sale. Beyond these the Neuri⁵ dwell; and to the north of the Neuri the country is utterly uninhabited, as far as I know. These nations are by the side of the river Hypanis, to the west of the Borysthenes. 18. But if one crosses the Borysthenes, the first country from the sea, is Hylæa; and from this higher up live Scythian agriculturists, where the Greeks settled on the river Hypanis, called Borysthenitæ, but they call themselves Olbiopolitæ. These Scythian husbandmen then occupy the country eastward, for three days' journey, extending to the river whose name is Panticapes; and northward a passage of eleven days up the Borysthenes. Beyond this region the country is desert for a great distance; and beyond the desert Androphagi⁶ dwell, who

⁵ See chap. 51, 105.

⁶ See chap. 106.

are a distinct people, and not in any respect Scythian. Beyond this is really desert, and no nation of men is found there, as far as we know. 19. The country eastward of these Scythian agriculturists, when one crosses the river Panticapæ, nomades occupy, who neither sow at all, nor plough; and all this country is destitute of trees, except Hylæa. These nomades occupy a tract eastward for fourteen days' journey, strétching to the river Gerrhus. 20. Beyond the Gerrhus are the parts called the Royal, and the most valiant and numerous of the Scythians, who deem all other Scythians to be their slaves. These extend southward to Taurica, and eastward to the trench, which those sprung from the blind men dug, and to the port on the lake Mæotis, which is called Cremni, and some of them reach to the river Tanais. The parts above to the north of the Royal Scythians, the Melanchlæni⁷ inhabit, a distinct race, and not Scythian. But above the Melanchlæni are lakes, and an uninhabited desert, as far as we know.

21. After one crosses the river Tanais, it is no longer Scythian, but the first region belongs to the Sauromatæ,⁸ who, beginning from the recess of the lake Mæotis, occupy the country northward, for a fifteen days' journey, all destitute both of wild and cultivated trees. Above these dwell the Budini,⁹ occupying the second region, and possessing a country thickly covered with all sorts of trees. 22. Above the Budini, towards the north, there is first a desert of seven days' journey, and next to the desert, if one turns somewhat towards the east, dwell the Thyssagetæ, a numerous and distinct race, and they live by hunting. Contiguous to these, in the same regions, dwell those who are called Iyræ, who also live by hunting in the following manner: *the huntsman*, having climbed a tree, lies in ambush, (and the whole country is thickly wooded,) and each man has a horse ready, taught to lie on his belly, that he may not be much above the ground, and a dog besides. When he sees any game from the tree, having let fly an arrow, and mounted his horse, he goes in pursuit, and the dog keeps close to him. Above these, as one bends towards the east, dwell other Scythians, who revolted from the Royal Scythians, and so came to this country. 23. As far as the territory of these Scythians, the whole country

⁷ See chap. 107.⁸ See chap. 116.⁹ See chap. 108.

that has been described is level and deep-soiled; but after this it is stony and rugged. When one has passed through a considerable extent of the rugged country, a people are found living at the foot of lofty mountains, who are said to be all bald from their birth, both men and women alike, and they are flat-nosed, and have large chins; they speak a peculiar language, wear the Scythian costume, and live on the fruit of a tree: the name of the tree on which they live is called ponticon, about the size of a fig-tree; it bears fruit like a bean, and has a stone. When this is ripe they strain it through a cloth, and a thick and black liquor flows from it; the name of what flows from it is aschy; this they suck, and drink mingled with milk: from the thick sediment of the pulp they make cakes, and feed on them; for they have not many cattle in these parts, as the pastures there are not good. Every man lives under a tree in the winter, when he has covered the tree with a thick white woollen covering; but in summer, without the woollen covering. No man does any injury to this people, for they are accounted sacred; nor do they possess any warlike weapon. And in the first place, they determine the differences that arise among their neighbours; and in the next place, whoever takes refuge among them, is injured by no one. They are called Argippæi.

24. As far, then, as these bald people, our knowledge respecting the country and the nations before them is very good, for some Scythians frequently go there, from whom it is not difficult to obtain information, as also from Greeks belonging to the port of the Borysthenes, and other ports in Pontus. The Scythians who go to them transact business by means of seven interpreters and seven languages. 25. So far then is known; but beyond the bald men no one can speak with certainty, for lofty and impassable mountains form their boundary, and no one has ever crossed them; but these bald men say, what to me is incredible, that men with goats' feet inhabit these mountains; and when one has passed beyond them, other men are found, who sleep six months at a time, but this I do not at all admit. However, the country eastward of the bald men is well known, being inhabited by Issedones, though the country above to the north, either of the bald men or the Issedones, is utterly unknown, except only such things

as these people relate. 26. The Issedones are said to observe these customs. When a man's father dies, all his relations bring cattle, and then having sacrificed them, and cut up the flesh, they cut up also the dead parent of their host, and having mingled all the flesh together, they spread out a banquet; then having made bare and cleansed his head, they gild it; and afterwards they treat it as a sacred image,¹ performing grand annual sacrifices to it. A son does this to his father, as the Greeks celebrate the anniversary of their father's death. These people are likewise accounted just; and the women have equal authority with the men. These, then, are well known.

27. Above them, the Issedones affirm, are the men with only one eye, and the gold-guarding griffins. The Scythians repeat this account, having received it from them; and we have adopted it from the Scythians, and call them, in the Scythian language, *Arimaspi*; for *Arima*, in the Scythian language, signifies one, and *Spou*, the eye. 28. All this country which I have been speaking of is subject to such a severe winter, that for eight months the frost is so intolerable, that if you pour water on the ground you will not make mud, but if you light a fire you will make mud. Even the sea freezes, and the whole Cimmerian bosphorus; and the Scythians who live within the trench, lead their armies and drive their chariots over the ice to the Sindians, on the other side. Thus winter continues eight months, and during the other four it is cold there. And this winter is different in character from the winters in all other countries; for in this no rain worth mentioning falls in the usual season, but during the summer it never leaves off raining. At the time when there is thunder elsewhere there is none there, but in summer it is violent: if there should be thunder in winter, it is accounted a prodigy to be wondered at. So, should there be an earthquake, whether in summer or winter, in Scythia it is accounted a prodigy. Their horses endure this cold, but their asses and mules cannot endure it at all; but in other places, horses that stand exposed to frost become frost-bitten in

¹ I have adopted Baehr's interpretation of *ἀγάλματι*, in preference to that of Schweighäuser, who considers it to mean "a sacred ornament," or to that of Larcher, who takes it to mean "a precious vessel."

the cold, waste away, but asses and mules endure it. 29. On this account also the race of beeves appears to me to be defective there, and not to have horns; and the following verse of Homer, in his *Odyssey*,² confirms my opinion: "And Libya, where the lambs soon put forth their horns:" rightly observing, that in warm climates horns shoot out quickly; but in very severe cold, the cattle either do not produce them at all, or if they do produce them they do so with difficulty. Here, then, such are the effects of the cold. 30. I am surprised, (for my narrative has from its commencement sought for digressions,) that in the whole territory of Elis no mules are able to breed, though neither is the climate cold, nor is there any other visible cause. The Eleans themselves say, that mules do not breed with them in consequence of a curse; therefore, when the time for the mares breeding approaches, they lead them to the neighbouring districts, and there put the he-asses with them, until they are in foal; then they drive them home again. 31. With respect to the feathers, with which the Scythians say the air is filled, and that on account of them it is not possible either to see farther upon the continent, or to pass through it, I entertain the following opinion: in the upper parts of this country it continually snows, less in summer than in winter, as is reasonable; now, whoever has seen snow falling thick near him, will know what I mean; for snow is like feathers: and on account of the winter being so severe, the northern parts of this continent are uninhabited. I think, then, that the Scythians and their neighbours call the snow feathers, comparing³ them together. These regions, therefore, which are said to be the most remote, have been sufficiently described.

32. Concerning the Hyperboreans, neither the Scythians say any thing, nor any people of those parts, except the Issedones; and, as I think, neither do they say any thing, for then the Scythians would mention it, as they do the one-eyed people. Hesiod, however, has made mention of the Hyperboreans, and Homer, in the *Epigoni*, if indeed Homer was in reality the author of that poem. 33. But the Delians say very much more than any others about them, affirming that sacred things, wrapped in wheat-straw, were brought from the Hyperboreans and came to the Scythians; and from the

² B. IV. l. 85.

³ That is, "speaking figuratively."

Scythians each contiguous nation receiving them in succession, carried them to the extreme west as far as the Adriatic; that being forwarded thence towards the south, the Dodonæans, the first of the Greeks, received them; that from them they descended to the Maliac Gulf, and passed over into Eubœa, and that one city sent them on to another as far as Carystus; that after this Andros was passed by, for the Carystians conveyed them to Tenos, and the Tenians to Delos: in this manner they say these sacred things reached Delos. *They add*, that the Hyperboreans first sent two virgins, whom they call by the names of Hyperoche and Laodice, to carry these sacred things; and with them, for the sake of safety, the Hyperboreans sent five of their citizens as attendants, the same who are now called Perpherees, and are held in high honour at Delos. But when those who were sent out by the Hyperboreans did not return, they, thinking it a grievous thing if it should always happen to them not to receive back those whom they sent out, therefore carried their offerings wrapped in wheat-straw to their borders, and enjoined their neighbours to forward them to the next nation; and these being so forwarded, they say, reached Delos. I myself know that the following practice is observed, resembling that of these sacred things: the Thracian and Pæonian women, when they sacrifice to Royal Diana, do not offer their sacrifices without wheat-straw; and I know that they do this. 34. In honour of these Hyperborean virgins who died in Delos, both the virgins and youths of the Delians shear their hair: the former, having cut off a lock before marriage, and having wound it about a distaff, lay it upon the sepulchre; the sepulchre is within the temple of Diana, on the left as one enters, and on it grows an olive tree: the youths of the Delians having wound some of their hair round a plant, place it also on the sepulchre. These virgins receive such honour from the inhabitants of Delos. 35. These same persons also affirm, that Arge and Opis, who were Hyperborean virgins, passing through the same nations, came to Delos, even before Hyperoche and Laodice: that these last came to bring the tribute they had agreed to pay to Ilithya for a speedy delivery; but they say that Arge and Opis arrived with the gods themselves, and that different honours are paid them by themselves, for that the women collect contributions for them, calling on their names in a hymn,

which Olen, a Lycian, composed for them ; and that the islanders and Ionians afterwards, having learnt it from them, celebrate Opis and Arge in song, mentioning their names, and collecting contributions ; (now this Olen, coming from Lycia, composed also the other ancient hymns which are sung in Delos ;) and that the ashes of the thighs burnt on the altar are thrown and expended on the sepulchre of Opis and Arge : but their sepulchre is behind the temple of Diana, facing the east, very near the banqueting-room of the Ceians. 36. And thus much may be said concerning the Hyperboreans, for I do not relate the story concerning Abaris, who was said to be an Hyperborean, to the effect that he carried an arrow round the whole earth without eating any thing. If, however, there are Hyperboreans, there must also be Hypernotians. But I smile when I see many persons describing the circumference of the earth, who have no sound reason to guide them ; they describe the ocean flowing round the earth, which is made circular as if by a lathe, and make⁴ Asia equal to Europe. I will therefore briefly show the dimensions of each of them, and what is the figure of each.

37. The Persian settlements extend to the southern sea, called the Erythræan ; above them to the north are the Medes ; above the Medes, the Saspîres ; and above the Saspîres, the Colchians, who reach to the northern sea, into which the river Phasis discharges itself. These four nations occupy the space from sea to sea. 38. Thence westward two tracts stretch out to the sea, which I shall describe. On one side, the one tract, beginning at the north from the Phasis, extends along the Euxine and the Hellespont, as far as the Trojan Sigæum ; and on the south, this same tract, beginning from the Myriandrian Gulf, which is adjacent to Phœnicia, stretches towards the sea as far as the Triopian promontory. In this tract dwell thirty different nations. This, then, is one of the tracts. 39. The other, beginning at Persia, reaches to the Red Sea ; *it comprises* Persia, and after that Assyria, and after Assyria, Arabia ; it terminates (terminating only by custom) at the Arabian Gulf, into which Darius carried a canal⁵ from

⁴ Baehr observes that *ποιεῦντων* is the genitive participle, depending on *γελῶ* preceding ; “ I smile when they make Asia equal to Europe.” It would be difficult to express the connexion in an English version.

⁵ See B. II. chap. 158.

the Nile. Now, as far as Phœnicia from Persia the country is wide and open, but from Phœnicia the same tract stretches along this sea by Syrian Palestine and Egypt, where it terminates ; in it are only three nations. These, then, are the parts of Asia that lie westward of Persia. 40. Beyond the Persians, Medes, Saspîres, and Colchians, towards the east and rising sun, extends the Red Sea, and on the north the Caspian Sea and the river Araxes, which flows towards the rising sun. Asia is inhabited as far as India ; but beyond this, it is all desert towards the east, nor is any one able to describe what it is. Such and so great is Asia.

41. Libya is in the other tract ; for Libya commences from Egypt. Now in Egypt this tract is narrow ; for from this sea to the Red Sea are a hundred thousand orgyæ, which make one thousand stades. But from this narrow neck the tract which is called Libya becomes very wide. 42. I wonder therefore at those who have described the limits of and divided Libya, Asia, and Europe, for the difference between them is not trifling : for in length Europe extends along both of them, but with respect to width, it is evidently not to be compared.⁶ Libya shows itself to be surrounded by water, except so much of it as borders upon Asia. Neco, king of Egypt, was the first whom we know of, that proved this ; he, when he had ceased digging the canal leading from the Nile to the Arabian Gulf, sent certain Phœnicians in ships, with orders to sail back through the pillars of Hercules into the northern sea,⁷ and so to return to Egypt. The Phœnicians accordingly, setting out from the Red Sea, navigated the southern sea ; when autumn came, they went ashore, and sowed the land, by whatever part of Libya they happened to be sailing, and waited for harvest ; then having reaped the corn, they put to sea again. When two years had thus passed, in the third, having doubled the pillars of Hercules, they arrived in Egypt, and related what to me does not seem credible, but may to others, that as they sailed round Libya, they had the sun on their right hand. Thus was Libya first known. 43. Subsequently the Carthaginians say *that Libya is surrounded by water*. For Sataspes, son of Teaspes, one of the Achæmenidæ, did not sail round Libya,

⁶ He means, "it is much wider than either of them."

⁷ Meaning "the Mediterranean," which was north of Libya.

though sent for that very purpose ; but dreading the length of the voyage and the desolation, returned home and did not accomplish the task which his mother imposed upon him : for he had violated a virgin, daughter of Zopyrus, son of Megabyzus ; whereupon, when he was about to be impaled for this offence by king Xerxes, the mother of Sataspes, who was sister to Darius, begged him off, promising that she would inflict a greater punishment upon him than he would, for, she would constrain him to sail round Libya, until, sailing round, he should reach the Arabian Gulf. Xerxes having agreed on these terms, Sataspes went into Egypt, and having taken a ship and men from thence, sailed through the pillars of Hercules ; and having sailed through, and doubled the cape of Libya, whose name is Solois, he steered to the southward : but after traversing a vast extent of sea in many months, when he found that he had still more to pass, he turned back and sailed away for Egypt. From thence going to king Xerxes, he told him, that in the most distant part he sailed past a nation of little men, who wore garments made of palm leaves, who, whenever they drew to shore, left their cities and flew to the mountains ; that his men, when they entered their country, did them no injury, but only took some cattle from them. Of his not sailing completely round Libya, this he said was the cause ; that his ship could not proceed any farther, but was stopped. Xerxes, however, being persuaded that he did not speak the truth, as he had not accomplished the task imposed upon him, impaled him, inflicting the original sentence. A eunuch of this Sataspes, as soon as he heard of his master's death, ran away to Samos with great wealth, which a Samian detained : though I know his name, I purposely conceal it.

44. A great part of Asia was explored under the direction of Darius. He being desirous to know in what part the Indus, which is the second river that produces crocodiles, discharges itself into the sea, sent in ships both others on whom he could rely to make a true report, and also Scylax of Caryanda. They accordingly, setting out from the city of Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyice, sailed down the river towards the east and sunrise to the sea ; then sailing on the sea westward, they arrived in the thirtieth month at that place where the king of Egypt despatched the Phoenicians, whom I before mentioned, to sail round Libya. After these persons had sailed round, Darius

subdued the Indians, and frequented this sea. Thus the other parts of Asia, except towards the rising sun, are found to exhibit things similar to Libya.

45. Whether Europe is surrounded by water either towards the east or towards the north, has not been fully discovered by any man ; but in length it is known to extend beyond both *the other continents*. Nor can I conjecture for what reason three different names have been given to the earth, which is but one, and those derived from the names of women ; nor why the Egyptian river Nile and the Colchian Phasis have been assigned as boundaries to it ; (some say, the Mæotian river Tanais, and the Cimmerian Porthmeia ;) nor can I learn the names of those who made this division, nor from whence they derived the appellations. Libya is said by most of the Greeks to take its name from a native woman of the name of Libya ; and Asia, from the wife of Prometheus. But the Lydians claim this name, saying that Asia was so called after Asius, son of Cotys, son of Manes, and not after Asia the wife of Prometheus ; from whom also a tribe in Sardis is called the Asian tribe. Whether Europe, then, is surrounded by water is known by no man ; nor is it clear whence it received this name, nor who gave it, unless we will say that the region received the name from the Tyrian Europa, but was before without a name, like the others : yet she evidently belonged to Asia, and never came into that country which is now called Europe by the Grecians ; but only passed from Phœnicia to Crete, and from Crete to Lycia. Thus much may suffice for this subject, for we shall adopt the names in common use.

46. The Euxine Sea, to which Darius led an army of all countries, except the Scythians, exhibits the most ignorant nations : for we are unable to mention any one nation of those on this side the Pontus that has any pretensions to intelligence ; nor have we ever heard of any learned man among them, except the Scythian nation and Anacharsis. By the Scythian nation one the most important of human devices has been contrived more wisely than by any others whom we know ; their other customs however I do not admire. This most important device has been so contrived, that no one who attacks them can escape ; and that, if they do not choose to be found, no one is able to overtake them. For they, who have neither cities nor fortifications, but carry their houses with them, who are

all equesterian archers, living not from the cultivation of the earth, but from cattle, and whose dwellings are waggons,—how must not such a people be invincible, and difficult to engage with? 47. This device has been contrived by them, as the country is fit for it, and the rivers aid them: for the country, being level, abounds in herbage and is well watered; and rivers flow through it almost as numerous as the canals in Egypt. Such of them as are celebrated and navigable from the sea I will mention: the Ister, that has five mouths; then the Tyres, the Hypanis, the Borysthenes, the Panticapes, the Hypacyris, the Gerrhus, and the Tanais. These flow as follows.

48. The Ister, which is the greatest of all the rivers we know, flows always with an equal stream both in summer and winter. Flowing the first of those in Scythia from the west, it is on this account the greatest, because other rivers discharge themselves into it. The following are those that make it great: there are five that flow through Scythia; one which the Scythians call Porata, but the Grecians Pyretos; another the Tiarantus, then the Aratus, the Naparis, and the Ordessus. The first mentioned of these rivers is large, and flowing towards the east, communicates its water with the Ister; that mentioned second, the Tiarantus, is more to the west and less; the Aratus, the Naparis, and Ordessus, passing between these, fall likewise into the Ister. These indigenous Scythian rivers assist in filling it. 49. The river Maris, flowing from the Agathyrsi, mingles with the Ister. From the summits of Mount Hæmus three other large rivers, flowing towards the north, empty themselves into it, the Atlas, the Auras, and the Tibisis: the Athres, the Noes, and the Atarnes, flowing through Thrace and the Thracian Crobyzi, discharge themselves into the Ister; and from the Pæonians and Mount Rhodope, the river Scios, dividing the Hæmus in the middle, discharges itself into it. And the river Angrus, flowing from the Illyrians towards the north, empties itself into the Triballian plain and into the river Brongus, and the Brongus into the Ister; thus the Ister receives both these, which are considerable. From the country above the Umbrici, the river Carpis and another river, Alpis, flowing towards the north, also discharge themselves into it. For the Ister flows through all Europe, beginning from the Celts, who, next to the Cynetæ,⁸

⁸ See B. II. chap. 33.

inhabit the remotest parts of Europe towards the west ; and flowing through all Europe, enters the borders of Scythia. 50. By these, then, that have been mentioned, and many other rivers that contribute their waters, the Ister becomes the greatest of all rivers. For if we compare one stream with another, the Nile surpasses in quantity ; for into this no river or fountain discharging itself contributes to its increase. But the Ister always flows equal in summer and in winter, for the following reason, as I think : during the winter it is about as large as it usually is, and perhaps a little larger ; for this country is very little moistened by rain during the winter, but is entirely covered with snow : in the summer, the snow that fell in the winter in vast quantities, dissolving on all sides, flows into the Ister ; and this snow flowing into it assists in filling it, and frequent and violent rains besides ; for it rains much in summer. By how much therefore the sun draws up to himself more water in summer than in winter, by so much the waters mingled with the Ister are greater in summer than in winter ; and these things therefore being opposed, an equilibrium results, so that it is always found to be equal.

51. One of the rivers, then, of the Scythians is the Ister ; after this is the Tyres, which proceeds from the north, and begins flowing from a vast lake, which separates Scythia and Neuris. At its mouth are settled Grecians, who are called Tyritæ. 52. The third river, the Hypanis, proceeds from Scythia and flows from a vast lake, around which wild white horses graze. This lake is rightly called the mother of the Hypanis. The river Hypanis, then, rising from this, is small and still sweet for a five days' voyage, but from thence, for a four days' voyage to the sea, it is exceedingly bitter ; for a bitter fountain discharges itself into it, which is so very bitter, though small in size, that it taints the Hypanis, which is a considerable river amongst small ones. This fountain is on the borders of the territory of the Scythian husbandmen and the Alazones ; the name of the fountain, and of the district whence it flows, is, in the Scythian language, Exampæus, but in the language of the Greeks, "The sacred ways." The Tyres and Hypanis contract their boundaries in the country of the Alazones ; but after that, each turning away, flows on widening the intermediate space.

53. The fourth is the river Borysthenes, which is the

largest of these after the Ister, and, in my opinion, the most productive, not only of the Scythian rivers, but of all others, except the Egyptian Nile; for to this it is impossible to compare any other river, but of the rest the Borysthenes is the most productive. It affords the most excellent and valuable pasture for cattle, and fish of the highest excellence and in great quantities; it is most sweet to drink; it flows pure in the midst of turbid rivers; the sown land near it is of the best quality; and the herbage, where the land is not sown, is very tall; at its mouth abundance of salt is crystallized spontaneously; and it produces large whales, without any spinal bones, which they call Antacæi, fit for salting, and many other things that deserve admiration. As far as the country of Gerrhus, a voyage of forty days, *this river* is known to flow from the north; but above that, through what people it flows no one is able to tell: but it evidently flows through a desert to the country of the agricultural Scythians; for these Scythians dwell near it for the space of a ten days' voyage. Of this river only, and of the Nile, I am unable to describe the sources; and I think that no Greek can do so. The Borysthenes continues flowing near the sea, and the Hypanis mingles with it, discharging itself into the same morass. The space between these rivers, which is a projecting piece of land, is called the promontory of Hippoleon, and in it a temple of Ceres is built; beyond the temple on the Hypanis the Borysthenitæ are settled. Thus much concerning these rivers.

54. After these is the fifth river, the name of which is the Panticapes; this also flows from the north, and out of a lake; and between this and the Borysthenes dwell the agricultural Scythians; it discharges itself into Hylæa, and having passed through that region, mingles with the Borysthenes. 55. The Hypacyris is the sixth river, which proceeds from a lake, and flowing through the middle of the Scythian nomades, discharges itself near the city Carcinitis, skirting Hylæa on the right, and that which is called the Course of Achilles. 56. The seventh river, the Gerrhus, is separated from the Borysthenes near the place at which the Borysthenes is first known. It is separated then from this very spot, and has the same name as the country, Gerrhus; and flowing towards the sea, it divides the territory of the Nomadic and the Royal Scy-

thians, and discharges itself into the Hypacyris. 57. The eighth river is the Tanais, which flows originally from a vast lake, and discharges itself into a still larger lake, called Mæotis, which divides the Royal Scythians and the Sauromatæ. Into this river Tanais runs another river, the name of which is Hyrgis. 58. Thus the Scythians are provided with these celebrated rivers. The grass that grows in Scythia is the most productive of bile for cattle of any with which we are acquainted ; and when the cattle are opened one may infer that such is the case.

59. Thus the greatest commodities are furnished them in abundance. Their other customs are established as follows. They propitiate the following gods only : Vesta, most of all ; then Jupiter, deeming the Earth to be the wife of Jupiter ; after these Apollo, and Venus Urania, and Hercules, and Mars. All the Scythians acknowledge these ; but those who are called Royal Scythians, sacrifice also to Neptune. Vesta, in the Scythian language, is named Tabiti ; Jupiter is, in my opinion, very rightly called Papæus ; the Earth, Apia ; Apollo, Cetusyrus ; Venus Urania, Artimpasa ; and Neptune, Thamimasadas. They are not accustomed to erect images, altars, and temples, except to Mars ; to him they are accustomed. 60. The same mode of sacrificing is adopted by all, with respect to all kinds of victims, alike, being as follows : the victim itself stands with its fore-feet tied together ; he who sacrifices, standing behind the beast, having drawn the extremity of the cord, throws it down ; and as the victim falls he invokes the god to whom he is sacrificing ; then he throws a halter round its neck, and having put in a stick, he twists it round and strangles it, without kindling any fire, or performing any preparatory ceremonies, or making any libation, but having strangled and flayed it he applies himself to cook it. 61. As the Scythian country is wholly destitute of wood, they have invented the following method of cooking flesh. When they have flayed the victims, they strip the flesh from the bones, then they put it into cauldrons made in the country, if they happen to have any, which very much resemble Lesbian bowls, except that they are much larger ; having put it into these, they cook it by burning underneath the bones of the victims. If they have no cauldron at hand, they put all the flesh into the paunches of the victims, and having poured in

water, burn the bones underneath : they burn very well, and the paunches easily contain the flesh stripped from the bones ; thus the ox cooks himself, and all other victims each cooks itself. When the flesh is cooked, he that sacrifices, offering the first-fruits of the flesh and entrails, throws it before him. They sacrifice both other cattle, and chiefly horses.

62. In this manner then, and these victims, they sacrifice to the other gods ; but to Mars, as follows. In each district, in the place where the magistrates assemble, is erected a structure sacred to Mars, of the following kind. Bundles of faggots are heaped up to the length and breadth of three stades, but less in height ; on the top of this a square platform is formed ; and three of the sides are perpendicular, but on the fourth it is accessible. Every year they heap on it one hundred and fifty waggon loads of faggots, for it is continually sinking by reason of the weather. On this heap an old iron scimeter is placed by each tribe, and this is the image of Mars ; and to this scimeter they bring yearly sacrifices of cattle and horses ; and to these *scimeters* they offer more sacrifices than to the rest of the gods. Whatever enemies they take alive, of these they sacrifice one in a hundred, not in the same manner as they do the cattle, but in a different manner ; for after they have poured a libation of wine on their heads, they cut the throats of the men over a bowl ; then having carried *the bowl* on the heap of faggots, they pour the blood over the scimeter. This then they carry up ; but below at the sacred precinct, they do as follows : having cut off all the right shoulders of the men that have been killed, with the arms, they throw them into the air ; and then, having finished the rest of the sacrificial rites, they depart ; but the arm lies wherever it has fallen, and the body apart. 63. Such, then, are the sacrifices instituted amongst them. Swine they never use, nor suffer them to be reared in their country at all.

64. Their military affairs are ordered as follows. When a Scythian overthrows his first enemy, he drinks his blood ; and presents the king with the heads of the enemies he has killed in battle : for if he brings a head, he shares the booty that they take ; but not, if he does not bring one. He skins it in the following manner. Having made a circular incision round the ears and taking hold of the skin, he shakes it from

the skull ; then having scraped off the flesh with the rib of an ox, he softens the skin with his hands ; and having made it supple, he uses it as a napkin : each man hangs it on the bridle of the horse which he rides, and prides himself on it ; for whoever has the greatest number of these skin napkins, is accounted the most valiant man. Many of them make cloaks of these skins, to throw over themselves, sewing them together like shepherd's coats ; and many, having flayed the right hands of their enemies that are dead, together with the nails, make coverings for their quivers : the skin of a man, which is both thick and shining, surpasses almost all other skins in the brightness of its white. Many, having flayed men whole, and stretched the skin on wood, carry it about on horseback. Such usages are received amongst them. 65. The heads themselves, not indeed of all, but of their greatest enemies, they treat as follows : each, having sawn off all below the eye-brows, cleanses it, and if the man is poor, he covers only the outside with leather, and so uses it ; but if he is rich, he covers it indeed with leather, and having gilded the inside, he so uses it for a drinking-cup. And they do this to their relatives, if they are at variance, and one prevails over another in the presence of the king. When strangers of consideration come to him, he produces these heads, and relates how, though they were his relatives, they made war against him, and he overcame them, considering this a proof of bravery. 66. Once in every year, the governor of a district, each in his own district, mingles a bowl of wine, from which those Scythians drink by whom enemies have been captured : but they who have not achieved this, do not taste of this wine, but sit at a distance in dishonour ; this is accounted the greatest disgrace : such of them as have killed very many men, having two cups at once, drink them together.

67. Soothsayers among the Scythians are numerous, who divine by the help of a number of willow rods, in the following manner. When they have brought with them large bundles of twigs, they lay them on the ground and untie them ; and having placed each rod apart, they utter their predictions ; and whilst they are pronouncing them, they gather up the rods again, and put them together again one by one. This is their national mode of divination. But the Enarees,⁹ or An-

⁹ See Book I. chap. 105.

drogyni, say that Venus gave them the power of divining. They divine by means of the bark of a linden-tree : when a man has split the linden-tree in three pieces, twisting it round his own fingers, and then untwisting it, he utters a response. 68. When the king of the Scythians is sick, he sends for three of the most famous of these prophets, who prophesy in the manner above mentioned ; and they generally say as follows, that such or such a citizen has sworn falsely by the royal hearth, mentioning the name of the citizen of whom they speak : for it is a custom with the Scythians in general, to swear by the royal hearth, when they would use the most solemn oath. The person who, they say, has sworn falsely, is immediately seized, and brought forward ; and when he is come, the prophets charge him with being clearly proved by their prophetic art to have sworn falsely by the royal hearth, and for this reason the king is ill. He denies it, affirming that he has not sworn falsely, and complains bitterly. On his denial, the king sends for twice as many more prophets ; and if they also, examining into the prophetic art, condemn him with having sworn falsely, they straightway cut off his head, and the first prophets divide his property between them ; but if the prophets who came last acquit him, other prophets are called in, and others after them. If, then, the greater number acquit the man, it is decreed that the first prophets shall be put to death. 69. They accordingly put them to death in the following manner : when they have filled a waggon with faggots, and have yoked oxen to it, having tied the feet of the prophets and bound their hands behind them, and having gagged them, they enclose them in the midst of the faggots ; then having set fire to them, they terrify the oxen, and let them go. Many oxen therefore are burnt with the prophets, and many escape very much scorched, when the pole has been burnt asunder. In this manner, and for other reasons, they burn the prophets, calling them false prophets. The king does not spare the children of those whom he puts to death, but kills all the males, and does not hurt the females. 70. The Scythians make solemn contracts in the following manner, with whomsoever they make them. Having poured wine into a large earthen vessel, they mingle with it blood taken from those who are entering into covenant, having struck with an awl or cut with a knife a small part of the body ; then, having dipped a scimetar, some

arrows, a hatchet, and a javelin in the vessel, when they have done this, they make many solemn prayers, and then both those who make the contract, and the most considerable of their attendants, drink up *the mixture*.

71. The sepulchres of the kings are in the country of the Gerrhi, as far as which the Borysthenes is navigable. There, when their king dies, they dig a large square hole in the ground; and having prepared this, they take up the corpse, having the body covered with wax, the belly opened and cleaned, filled with bruised cypress, incense, and parsley and anise-seed, and then sown up again, and carry it in a chariot to another nation: those who receive the corpse brought to them, do the same as the Royal Scythians; they cut off part of their ear, shave off their hair, wound themselves on the arms, lacerate their forehead and nose, and drive arrows through their left hand. Thence they carry the corpse of the king to another nation whom they govern; and those to whom they first came accompany them. When they have carried the corpse round all the provinces, they arrive among the Gerrhi, who are the most remote of the nations they rule over, and at the sepulchres. Then, when they have placed the corpse in the grave on a bed of leaves, having fixed spears on each side of the dead body, they lay pieces of wood over it, and cover it over with mats. In the remaining space of the grave they bury one of the king's concubines, having strangled her, and his cup-bearer, a cook, a groom, a page, a courier, and horses, and firstlings of every thing else, and golden goblets; they make no use of silver or brass. Having done this, they all heap up a large mound, striving and vying with each other to make it as large as possible. 72. When a year has elapsed, they then do as follows: having taken the most fitting of his remaining servants; they are all native Scythians; for they serve him whomsoever the king may order, and they have no servants bought with money: when therefore they have strangled fifty of these servants, and fifty of the finest horses, having taken out their bowels and cleansed them, they fill them with chaff, and sow them up again. Then having placed the half of a wheel, with its concave side uppermost, on two pieces of wood, and the other half on two other pieces of wood, and having fixed many of these in the same manner, then having thrust thick pieces of

wood through the horses lengthwise, up to the neck, they mount them on the half-wheels; and of these the foremost part of the half-wheels supports the shoulders of the horses, and the hinder part supports the belly near the thighs, but the legs on both sides are suspended in the air: then having put bridles and bits on the horses, they stretch them in front, and fasten them to a stake; they then mount upon a horse each, one of the fifty young men that have been strangled, mounting them in the following manner: when they have driven a straight piece of wood along the spine as far as the neck, but a part of this wood projects from the bottom, they fix it into a hole bored in the other piece of wood that passes through the horse. Having placed such horsemen round the monument, they depart.

73. Thus they bury their kings. But the other Scythians, when they die, their nearest relations carry about among their friends, laid in chariots; and of these each one receives and entertains the attendants, and sets the same things before the dead body, as before the rest. In this manner private persons are carried about for forty days, and then buried. The Scythians, having buried them, purify themselves in the following manner: having wiped and thoroughly washed their heads, they do thus with regard to the body; when they have set up three pieces of wood leaning against each other, they extend around them woollen cloths; and having joined them together as closely as possible, they throw red-hot stones into a vessel placed in the middle of the pieces of wood and the cloths. 74. They have a sort of hemp growing in this country, very like flax, except in thickness and height; in this respect the hemp is far superior: it grows both spontaneously and from cultivation; and from it the Thracians make garments, very like linen, nor would any one who is not well skilled in such matters distinguish whether they are made of flax or hemp, but a person who has never seen this hemp would think the garment was made of flax. 75. When therefore the Scythians have taken some seed of this hemp, they creep under the cloths, and then put the seed on the red-hot stones; but this being put on smokes, and produces such a steam, that no Grecian vapour-bath would surpass it. The Scythians, transported with the vapour, shout aloud;¹ and

¹ See Book I. chap. 202.

this serves them instead of washing, for they never bathe the body in water. Their women, pouring on water, pound on a rough stone *pieces of* cypress, cedar, and incense-tree; and then this pounded matter, when it is thick, they smear over the whole body and face: and this at the same time gives them an agreeable odour, and when they take off the cataplasm on the following day, they become clean and shining.

76. They studiously avoid the use of foreign customs, not only therefore *will they not adopt* those of each other, but least of all Grecian usages,² as the example of Anacharsis, and afterwards of Scylas, sufficiently demonstrated; for, in the first place, Anacharsis, having visited many countries, and having displayed great wisdom during his progress, was returning to the abodes of the Scythians, and sailing through the Hellespont toward Cyzicus, and as he found the Cyziceniens celebrating a festival to the mother of the gods with great magnificence, Anacharsis made a vow to the goddess, that if he should return safe and sound to his own country, he would sacrifice in the same manner as he saw the inhabitants of Cyzicus doing, and would also institute a vigil. Accordingly, when he arrived in Scythia, he returned into the country called Hylæa, it is near the Course of Achilles, and is full of trees of all kinds; to this Anacharsis having retired, performed all the rites to the goddess, holding a timbrel in his hand, and fastening images about his person. But one of the Scythians, having observed him doing this, gave information to the king, Saulius; but he, having come in person, when he saw Anacharsis thus employed, shot at him with an arrow, and killed him. And now if any one speaks about Anacharsis, the Scythians say they do not know him, because he travelled into Greece and adopted foreign customs. However I heard from Timnes, the guardian of Ariapithes, that Anacharsis was paternal uncle to Idanthysus, king of the Scythians, and that he was son of Gnrus, son of Lycus, son of Spargapithes; if, then, Anacharsis was of this family, let him know he was killed by his own brother; for Idanthysus was son of Saulius,

² The simplest method of rendering this obscure passage appears to me to be that suggested by Letronne, as quoted by Baehr, according to which the usual signification of the word *ἡκιστα* is retained without any violence to the construction: it is as follows, *μή τι γε ὦν ἀλλήλων (ναμαίοισι χρεώνται), Ἑλληνικοῖσι δὲ καὶ ἡκιστα.*

and it was Saulius who killed Anacharsis. 77. However, I have heard another story told by the Peloponnesians, that Anacharsis, being sent abroad by the king of the Scythians, became a disciple of the Grecians; and on his return home he said to the king who sent him abroad, that all the Greeks were employed in acquiring all kinds of knowledge, except the Lacedæmonians, but that they only were able to give and receive a reason with prudence: but this story is told in sport by the Greeks themselves. The man, then, was killed in the manner before mentioned. Thus, therefore, he fared because of foreign customs and intercourse with the Grecians.

78. Many years afterwards, Scylas, son of Ariapithes, met with a similar fate. For Ariapithes, king of the Scythians, had, amongst other children, Scylas; he was born of an Istrian woman, who did not in any way belong to the country: his mother taught him the Grecian language and letters. Afterwards, in course of time, Ariapithes met his death by treachery at the hands of Spargapithes, king of the Agathyrsi, and Scylas succeeded to the kingdom, and his father's wife, whose name was Opœa; this Opœa was a native, by whom Ariapithes had a son, Oricus. Scylas, though reigning over the Scythians, was by no means pleased with the Scythian mode of life, but was much more inclined to the Grecian manners on account of the education he had received; he, therefore, acted thus. Whenever he led the Scythian army to the city of the Borysthenitæ, (now these Borysthenitæ say they are Milesians,) as soon as Scylas reached them, he used to leave his army in the suburbs, and, when he himself had gone within the walls, and had closed the gates, having laid aside his Scythian dress, he used to assume the Grecian habit, and in this dress he walked in public, unattended by guards or any one else; and they kept watch at the gates, that no Scythian might see him wearing this dress; and in other respects he adopted the Grecian mode of living, and performed sacrifices to the gods according to the rites of the Grecians. When he had stayed a month or more, he used to depart, resuming the Scythian habit. This he used frequently to do; he also built a palace in the Borysthenes, and married a native woman, to inhabit it. 79. Since, however, it was fated that misfortune should befall him, it happened on this occasion. He was very desirous to be initiated in the mysteries of Bacchus;

and as he was just about to commence the sacred rites, a very great prodigy occurred. He had in the city of the Borysthenitæ a large and magnificent mansion,³ of which I have just now made mention; round it were placed sphinxes and griffins of white marble; on this the god hurled a bolt, and it was entirely burnt down; Scylas, nevertheless, accomplished his initiation. Now, the Scythians reproach the Grecians on account of their Bacchic ceremonies, for they say it is not reasonable to discover such a god as this, who drives men to madness. When Scylas had been initiated in the Bacchic mysteries, one of the Borysthenitæ carried the information to the Scythians, saying, "You Scythians laugh at us, because we celebrate Bacchic rites, and the god takes possession of us: now this same deity has taken possession of your king, and he celebrates the rites of Bacchus, and is maddened by the god. But if you disbelieve me, follow, and I will show you." The chief men of the Scythians followed him; and the Borysthenite, conducting them in, placed them secretly on a tower: but when Scylas went past with a thyasus, and the Scythians saw him acting the bacchanal, they regarded it as a very great calamity; and having returned, they acquainted all the army with what they had seen. 80. After this, when Scylas returned to his own home, the Scythians, having set up his brother Octamasades, born of the daughter of Tereus, revolted from Scylas. But he, being informed of what was being done against him, and the reason for which it was done, fled to Thrace. Octamasades, being informed of this, marched against Thrace, but when he arrived on the Ister, the Thracians advanced to meet him. As they were about to engage, Sitalces sent to Octamasades, saying as follows: "Why need we try each other's strength? You are the son of my sister, and have with you my brother. Do you restore him to me, and I will deliver up Scylas to you, and so neither you nor I shall expose our army to peril." Sitalces sent this message to him by a herald; for there was with Octamasades a brother of Sitalces, who had fled from the latter. Octamasades acceded to this proposal; and having surrendered his maternal uncle to Sitalces, received his brother Scylas in exchange. Now Sitalces, having got his brother in his power, drew off

³ Literally "a circumference of a large and magnificent mansion."

his forces ; but Octamasades beheaded Scylas on the same spot. Thus the Scythians maintain their own customs, and impose such punishments on those who introduce foreign usages.

81. I have never been able to learn with accuracy the amount of the population of the Scythians, but I heard different accounts concerning the number ; for some pretend that they are exceedingly numerous, and others that there are very few real Scythians : thus much however they exposed to my sight. There is a spot between the river Borysthenes and the Hypanis, called Exampæus,⁴ which I mentioned a little before, saying that there was in it a fountain of bitter water, from which the water flowing made the Hypanis unfit to be drunk. In this spot lies a brass cauldron, in size six times as large as the bowl at the mouth of the Pontus, which Pausanias, son of Cleombrotus, dedicated. For the benefit of any one who has never seen this, I will here describe it : the brass cauldron amongst the Scythians easily contains six hundred amphoræ ; and this Scythian vessel is six fingers in thickness. Now, the inhabitants say it was made from the points of arrows, for that their king, whose name was Ariantas, wishing to know the population of the Scythians, commanded all the Scythians to bring him each severally one point of an arrow, and he threatened death on whosoever should fail to bring it. Accordingly a vast number of arrow points were brought, and he resolved to leave a monument made from them ; he therefore made this brass bowl, and dedicated it at Exampæus. This I heard concerning the population of the Scythians. 82. Their country has nothing wonderful, except the rivers, which are very large and very many in number ; but what it affords also worthy of admiration, besides the rivers and the extent of the plains, shall be mentioned : they show the print of the foot of Hercules upon a rock ; it resembles the footstep of a man, is two cubits in length, near the river Tyras. Such, then, is this ; but I will now return to the subject I at first set out to relate.

83. Whilst Darius was making preparations against the Scythians, and sending messengers to command some to contribute land forces, and others a fleet, and others to bridge over the Thracian Bosphorus ; Artabanus, the son of Hystaspes, and brother of Darius, entreated him on no account to make an expedition against the Scythians, representing the poverty

⁴ See chap. 52.

of Scythia ; but when he found that although he gave him good counsel he could not persuade him, he desisted : Darius therefore, when every thing was prepared, marched his army from Susa. 84. At that time Œobazus, a Persian, who had three sons all serving in the army, besought Darius that one might be left at home for him. The king answered him, as a friend, and one who made a moderate request, that he would leave him all his sons ; he therefore was exceedingly delighted, hoping that his sons would be discharged from the army. But Darius commanded the proper officers to put all the sons of Œobazus to death ; and they, being slain, were left on the spot.

85. When Darius, marching from Susa, reached Chalcedon on the Bosphorus, where a bridge was already laid across, from thence going on board a ship he sailed to those called the Cyanean islands, which the Grecians say formerly floated. There, sitting in the temple, he took a view of the Euxine Sea, which is worthy of admiration ; for of all seas it is by nature the most wonderful : its length is eleven thousand one hundred stades, and its width, in the widest part, three thousand three hundred stades. The mouth of this sea is four stades in width, and the length of the mouth, *that is*, the neck, which is called the Bosphorus, where the bridge was laid across, amounts to about a hundred and twenty stades ; and the Bosphorus extends to the Propontis. The Propontis, which is five hundred stades in breadth, and one thousand four hundred in length, discharges itself into the Hellespont, which in the narrowest part is seven stades, and in length four hundred ; the Hellespont falls into an expanse of the sea, which is called the Ægean. 86. These seas have been measured as follows : a ship commonly makes in a long day about seventy thousand orgyæ, and in a night about sixty thousand. Now, from the mouth to the Phasis (for this is the greatest length of the Pontus) is a voyage of nine days and eight nights ; these make one million one hundred and ten thousand orgyæ, and these orgyæ are equal to eleven thousand one hundred stades. From Sindica to Themiscyra, on the river Thermodon, (for here is the broadest part of the Pontus,) is a voyage of three days and two nights ; these make three hundred and thirty thousand orgyæ, or three thousand three hundred stades. The Pontus, therefore, and the Bosphorus, and the Hellespont, have been thus measured by me, and are such as I have described. Moreover this

Pontus possesses a lake, that discharges itself into it, not much less than itself; it is called Mæotis, and the mother of the Pontus.

87. Darius, when he had viewed the Pontus, sailed back to the bridge, of which Mandrocles, a Samian, was the architect. And having also viewed the Bosphorus, he erected two columns of white marble on the shore, engraving on one in Assyrian characters, and on the other in Grecian, *the names of* all the nations he had in his army, and he had some from all whom he ruled over; of these, besides the navy, seven hundred thousand were reckoned, including cavalry; and six hundred ships were assembled. Now these columns the Byzantians some time afterwards removed into their city, and used in building the altar of the Orthosian Diana, except one stone; this was left near the temple of Bacchus in Byzantium, covered with Assyrian letters. The spot of the Bosphorus which king Darius caused the bridge to be laid over, was, as I conjecture, mid-way between Byzantium and the temple at the mouth. 88. Darius after this, being pleased with the bridge, presented its architect, Mandrocles the Samian, with ten of every thing; from these then Mandrocles, having painted a picture of the whole junction of the Bosphorus, with king Darius seated on a throne, and his army crossing over, having painted this, he dedicated it as first-fruits in the temple of Juno, with this inscription: "Mandrocles, having thrown a bridge across the fishy Bosphorus, dedicated to Juno a memorial of the raft; laying up for himself a crown, and for the Samians glory, having completed it to the satisfaction of king Darius." This, then, was the memorial of the man who constructed the bridge.

89. Darius, having rewarded Mandrocles, crossed over into Europe, having commanded the Ionians to sail by the Pontus as far as the river Ister; and when they should have reached the Ister, to throw a bridge over the river and there wait his arrival: for the Ionians, Æolians, and Hellespontines conducted the naval armament. The fleet accordingly, having sailed through the Cyanean islands, stood direct for the Ister; and having sailed up the river a two days' voyage from the sea, they joined the neck of the river with a bridge, at the point where the several mouths of the Ister are separated. But Darius, when he had passed over

the Bosphorus by the bridge of boats, marched through Thrace, and having arrived at the sources of the river Tearus, encamped there three days. 90. The Tearus is said by the inhabitants of the country to be the best of all rivers, both for its other healing qualities, and especially for curing the itch, in men and horses. Its springs are thirty-eight, *flowing* from the same rock, and some of them are cold, others hot. The distance to them is the same from Heræopolis, near Perinthus, and from Apollonia on the Euxine Sea, each a two days' journey. This Tearus empties itself into the river Contadesdus, the Contadesdus into the Agrianes, the Agrianes into the Hebrus, and this last into the sea near the city of Ænus. 91. Darius, then, having reached this river, when he had encamped, was so delighted with the river, that he erected a pillar here also, with the following inscription: THE SPRINGS OF THE TEARUS YIELD THE BEST AND FINEST WATER OF ALL RIVERS; AND A MAN, THE BEST AND FINEST OF ALL MEN, CAME TO THEM, LEADING AN ARMY AGAINST THE SCYTHIANS, DARIUS, SON OF HYSTASPES, KING OF THE PERSIANS, AND OF THE WHOLE CONTINENT. 92. Darius, having set out from thence, came to another river, the name of which is Artiscus, which flows through the Odrysæ; when he arrived at this river, he did as follows: having marked out a certain spot of ground to the army, he commanded every man as he passed by to place a stone on this spot that was marked out; and when the army had executed his order, having left vast heaps of stones there, he continued his march.

93. But before he reached the Ister, he subdued the Getæ first, who think themselves immortal; for the Thracians who occupy Salmydessus, and those who dwell above the cities of Apollonia and Mesambria, who are called Scyrmiadæ and Nypsæi, surrendered themselves to Darius without resistance; but the Getæ, having recourse to obstinate resistance, were soon reduced to slavery, though they are the most valiant and the most just of the Thracians. 94. They think themselves immortal in this manner. They imagine that they themselves do not die, but that the deceased goes to the deity Zalmoxis, and some of them think that he is the same with Gebeleizis. Every fifth year they despatch one of themselves, taken by lot, to Zalmoxis, with orders to let him know on each occasion what they want. Their mode of sending

him is this. Some of them who are appointed hold three javelins ; whilst others, having taken up the man who is to be sent to Zalmoxis by the hands and feet, swing him round, and throw him into the air, upon the points. If he should die, being transfixed, they think the god is propitious to them ; if he should not die, they blame the messenger himself, saying, that he is a bad man ; and having blamed him, they despatch another, and they give him his instructions while he is yet alive. These same Thracians, in time of thunder and lightning, let fly their arrows toward heaven, and threaten the god, thinking that there is no other god but their own.

95. But, as I am informed by the Greeks who dwell about the Hellespont and the Pontus, this Zalmoxis was a man, and lived in slavery at Samos ; he was slave to Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus ; and after that, having procured his liberty, he acquired great riches, and having acquired them, he returned to his own country : but finding the Thracians lived wretchedly and in a very uncivilized manner, this Zalmoxis, being acquainted with the Ionian way of living, and with manners more polite than those of Thrace, in that he had been familiar with Greeks, and with Pythagoras, who was not the meanest sage in Greece, had a hall built, in which, receiving and entertaining the principal persons of the country, he taught them, that neither he nor any of his guests, nor their posterity for ever, would die, but would go into a place where they should live eternally, and have every kind of blessing. While he did and said as above described, he, in the mean time, had a subterraneous habitation made, and when the building was completed, he disappeared from among the Thracians ; and having gone down to the subterraneous habitation, he abode there three years. But they both regretted him, and lamented him as dead ; but in the fourth year he appeared to the Thracians : and thus what Zalmoxis said became credible to them. Thus they say that he acted.

96. For my own part, I neither disbelieve nor entirely believe the account of this person and the subterraneous habitation ; but I am of opinion that this Zalmoxis lived many years before Pythagoras. Yet, whether Zalmoxis were a man or a native deity among the Getæ, I take my leave of him. These people, then, who observe such a custom, when they were subdued by the Persians, followed the rest of the army.

97. When Darius and his land forces with him reached the Ister, all crossed over the river, and Darius commanded the Ionians to loose the bridge, and follow him on the continent with the forces from the ships. But as they were about to loose *the bridge* and execute his orders, Coes, son of Erxandrus, general of the Mitylenians, spoke as follows to Darius, having first inquired whether it would be agreeable to him to hear an opinion from one who wished to give it : “ O king, since you are about to invade a country in which no cultivated land will be seen, nor any inhabited city, do you let this bridge remain where it is, leaving these men who constructed it as its guard ; and if, having met with the Scythians, we succeed according to our wishes, we have a way to return ; but if we should not be able to meet with them, we shall at least have a secure retreat. For I am not at all afraid that we shall be conquered in battle by the Scythians ; but rather, that, being unable to find them, we may suffer somewhat in our wanderings. Perhaps some one may think I say this for my own sake, that I may remain here ; but, O king, I advance the opinion which I think is best for you ; nevertheless, I will follow you myself, and would by no means be left behind.” Darius was much pleased with the advice, and answered him as follows : “ Lesbian friend, when I am safe back in my own palace, fail not to present yourself to me, that I may requite you for good advice with good deeds.” 98. Having spoken thus and tied sixty knots in a thong, and having summoned the Ionian commanders to his presence, he addressed them as follows : “ Men of Ionia, I have changed my former resolution concerning the bridge ; therefore, take this thong and do thus : as soon as you see me march against the Scythians, beginning from that time, untie one of these knots every day ; and if I return not within that time, but the days *numbered* by the knots have passed, do you sail away to your own country. Till that time, since I have changed my determination, do you guard the bridge, and apply the utmost care to preserve and secure it ; and if you do this, you will oblige me exceedingly.” Darius, having spoken thus, hastened forward.

99. Thrace, in the part next the sea, projects before the Scythian territory ; and where a bay is formed in this country Scythia begins, and the Ister discharges itself, having its mouth turned towards the east. But beginning from the Ister,

I now proceed to describe by measurement the part of the Scythian country that is on the sea coast. Now, from the Ister, that is ancient Scythia that lies towards the meridian and the south wind, as far as the city called Carcinitis ; next to that, the Tauric nation inhabits the land extending along the same sea, which is a mountainous country, and projects into the Pontus as far as the Chersonesus called Trachea ; and it reaches to the sea towards the east. For the two parts of the boundaries of Scythia extend to the sea, one towards the south, and the other towards the east, as is the case with the region of Attica : and the Tauri inhabit parts of Scythia similar to this, just as if any other people instead of the Athenians possessed the promontory of Sunium, which extends more into a point into the sea from the borough of Thoricus to that of Anaphlystus. I mention this, if I may compare small things with great. Such, then, is Taurica. But for any one who has never sailed by that part of Attica, I will explain the matter in another way : it is as if a nation distinct from Japygia, and not the Japygians, beginning from the port of Brundisium, should cut off the country as far as Tarentum, and occupy the promontory. Mentioning these two, I might mention many others, to which Taurica is like.

100. From Taurica, Scythians inhabit the country above the Tauri, and the parts along the eastern sea, and the parts westward of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and the lake Mæotis, as far as the river Tanais, which flows into the farthest recess of that lake. Now, from the Ister at the parts above, stretching to the interior, Scythia is shut off first by the Agathyrsi, next by the Neuri, then by the Androphagi, and last by the Melanchlæni.

101. Of Scythia, therefore, which is quadrangular, with two parts reaching to the sea, that which stretches to the interior and that along the coast is in every way equal. For from the Ister to the Borysthenes is a journey of ten days ; and from the Borysthenes to the lake Mæotis ten more ; from the sea to the interior, as far as the Melanchlæni, who inhabit above the Scythians, is a journey of twenty days. The day's journey has been computed by me at two hundred stades. Thus the extent of Scythia crossways would be four thousand stades ; and the direct route leading to the interior would be the same number of stades. Such is the extent of this country.

102. The Scythians, considering with themselves that they were not able alone to repel the army of Darius in a pitched battle, sent messengers to the adjoining nations; and the kings of those nations, having met together, consulted, since so great an army was advancing against them. The kings who met together were those of the Tauri, the Agathyrsi, the Neuri, the Androphagi, the Melanchlæni, the Geloni, the Budini, and the Sauromatæ. 103. Of these, the Tauri observe the following customs: they sacrifice to the virgin all who suffer shipwreck, and any Greeks they meet with driven on their coasts, in the following manner: having performed the preparatory ceremonies, they strike the head with a club; some say they throw the body down from a precipice, (for their temple is built on a precipice,) and impale the head; but others agree with respect to the head, but say that the body is not thrown from the precipice, but buried in the earth. The Tauri themselves say, that this deity to whom they sacrifice is Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon. Enemies whom they subdue they treat as follows: each having cut off a head, carries it home with him, then having fixed it on a long pole, he raises it far above the roof of his house, at all events above the chimney; they say that these are suspended as guards over the whole household. This people live by rapine and war. 104. The Agathyrsi are a most luxurious people, and wear a profusion of gold. They have promiscuous intercourse with women, to the end that they may be brethren one of another, and being all of one family, may not entertain hatred towards each other. In other respects they approach the usages of the Thracians. 105. The Neuri observe Scythian customs. One generation before the expedition of Darius, it happened to them to be driven out of their whole country by serpents; for their country produced many serpents, and a much greater number came down upon them from the deserts above; until, being hard pressed, they abandoned their territory, and settled among the Budini. These men seem to be magicians, for it is said of them by the Scythians and the Greeks settled in Scythia, that once every year each Neurian becomes a wolf for a few days, and then is restored again to the same state. Though they affirm this, however, they do not persuade me; they affirm it nevertheless, and support their assertion with an oath. 106. The Androphagi have the most savage cus-

toms of all men ; they pay no regard to justice, nor make use of any established law. They are nomades, and wear a dress like the Scythian ; *they speak* a peculiar language ; and of these nations, are the only people that eat human flesh. 107. The Melanchlæni all wear black garments, from which circumstance they take their name. These follow Scythian usages. 108. The Budini, who are a great and populous nation, *paint* their whole bodies with a deep blue and red. There is in their country a city built of wood, its name is Gelonus ; each side of the wall is thirty stades in length, it is lofty, and made entirely of wood. Their houses also and their temples are of wood : for there are there temples of the Grecian gods, adorned after the Grecian manner with images, altars, and shrines of wood. They celebrate the triennial festivals of Bacchus, and perform the bacchanalian ceremonies : for the Geloni were originally Grecians, but being expelled from the trading ports, settled among the Budini ; and they use a language partly Scythian and partly Grecian. 109. The Budini, however, do not use the same language as the Geloni, nor the same mode of living ; for the Budini, being indigenous, are nomades, and are the only people of these parts who eat vermin ; whereas the Geloni are tillers of the soil, feed upon corn, cultivate gardens, and are not at all like the Budini in form or complexion. By the Greeks, however, the Budini are called Geloni, though erroneously so called. Their country is thickly covered with trees of all kinds ; and in the thickest wood is a spacious and large lake, and a morass and reeds around it : in this otters are taken, and beavers, and other square-faced animals ; their skins are sewn as borders to cloaks, and their testicles are useful for the cure of diseases of the womb.

110. Concerning the Sauromatæ the following account is given. When the Grecians had fought with the Amazons, (the Scythians call the Amazons *Aiorpata*, and this name in the Grecian language means manslaughter, for they call *Aior* a man, and *Pata* to kill,) the story goes, that the Greeks, having been victorious in the battle at the Thermodon, sailed away, taking with them in three ships as many Amazons as they had been able to take alive ; but the Amazons attacking them out at sea, cut the men to pieces. However, as they had no knowledge of navigation, nor any skill in the use of the rud-

der, sails, or oars, when they had cut the men to pieces, they were carried by the waves and wind, and arrived at Cremni on the lake Mæotis, but Cremni belongs to the territory of the free Scythians. Here the Amazons, landing from the vessels, marched to the inhabited parts and seized the first herd of horses they happened to fall in with, and mounting on them, plundered the lands of the Scythians. 111. The Scythians knew not what to make of the matter; for they were not acquainted either with their language, dress, or nation, but wondered from whence they came. They conjectured that they were men of the same stature, they therefore gave them battle; but after the battle the Scythians got possession of the dead, and so discovered that they were women. On deliberation, therefore, they resolved on no account to kill them any more, but to send out to them the youngest of their own party, guessing a number equal to theirs; these were to encamp near them, and do the same as they did; should the Amazons pursue them, they were not to fight, but fly; and when they halted were to come and encamp near them. The Scythians resolved on this, out of a desire to have children by these women. 112. The young men, being despatched, did as they were ordered: when the Amazons found that they had not come to hurt them, they let them alone; and they drew one camp nearer to the other every day. The youths, as well as the Amazons, had nothing except their arms and horses, but obtained their subsistence in the same way that the Amazons did, by hunting and pillage. 113. The Amazons about mid-day were wont to do as follows: they separated themselves into parties of one and two, at a distance from each other, being dispersed for the purpose of easing themselves. The Scythians observing this, did the same; and one of them drew near one of the Amazons who was alone; and she did not repel him, but suffered him to enjoy her person. She could not speak to him, because they did not understand each other, but she made signs to him by her hand to come the next day to the same place, and to bring another with him; signifying that they should be two, and she would bring another with her. When the youth departed, he related this to the rest, and on the next day he himself went to the place, and took another with him, and found the Amazon with a companion waiting for him. The rest of the youths, when

they heard this, conciliated the rest of the Amazons. 114. Afterwards, having joined their camps, they lived together, each having for his wife the person he first attached himself to. The men were not able to learn the language of the women, but the women soon attained that of the men. When, therefore, they understood one another, the men spoke to the Amazons as follows: "We have parents and possessions, let us then no longer lead this kind of life, but let us return to the bulk of our people and live with them; we will have you as our wives, and no others." To this they answered: "We never could live with the women of your country, because we have not the same customs with them. We shoot with the bow, throw the javelin, and ride on horseback, and have never learnt the employments of women. But your women do none of the things we have mentioned, but are engaged in women's employments, remaining in their waggons, and do not go out to hunt, or any where else; we could not therefore consort with them. If, then, you desire to have us for your wives, and to prove yourselves honest men, go to your parents, claim your share of their property, then return, and let us live by ourselves." 115. The youths yielded, and acted accordingly, but when they came back to the Amazons, having received what fell to their share of the possessions, the women spoke to them as follows: "Alarm and fear come upon us, *when we consider* that we must live in this country; in the first place, because we have deprived you of your parents; and in the next, have committed great depredations in your territory. Since, therefore, you think us worthy to be your wives, do thus with us; come, let us leave this country, and having crossed the river Tanais, let us settle there." 116. The youths consented to this also; accordingly, having crossed the Tanais, they advanced a journey of three days eastward from the Tanais, and three from the lake Mæotis northward, and having reached the country in which they are now settled, they took up their abode there. From that time the wives of the Sauromatæ retain their ancient mode of living, both going out on horseback to hunt with their husbands, and without their husbands, and joining in war, and wearing the same dress as the men. 117. The Sauromatæ use the Scythian language, speaking it corruptly from the first, since the Amazons never learnt it correctly. Their rules respecting marriage are thus

settled; no virgin is permitted to marry until she has killed an enemy; some of them therefore die of old age without being married, not being able to satisfy the law.

118. The messengers of the Scythians, therefore, coming to the assembled kings of the nations above mentioned, informed them that the Persian, when he had subdued all the nations on the other continent, had constructed a bridge over the neck of the Bosphorus, and crossed over to this continent; and having crossed over and subdued the Thracians, he was building a bridge over the river Ister, designing to make all these regions also subject to him: "Do you, therefore, on no account, sit aloof, and suffer us to be destroyed, but with one accord let us oppose the invader. If you will not do this, we, being pressed, shall either abandon the country, or, if we stay, shall submit to terms; for what would be our condition if you refuse to assist us? Nor will it fall more lightly on you on that account; for the Persian is advancing not more against us than against you; nor will he be content to subdue us and abstain from you: and we will give you a strong proof of what we say, for if the Persian had undertaken this expedition against us only, wishing to revenge his former subjection, he would have abstained from all others, and have marched directly against our territories, and would have made it clear to all, that he was marching against the Scythians, and not against others. But now, as soon as he crossed over to this continent, he subdued all that lay in his way; and holds in subjection the rest of the Thracians, and more particularly our neighbours the Getæ." 119. When the Scythians had made this representation, the kings who had come from the several nations consulted together, and their opinions were divided. The Gelonian, Budinian, and Sauromatian, agreeing together, promised to assist the Scythians; but the Agathyrsian, Neurian, Androphagian, and the Melanchlænian and Taurian princes gave this answer to the Scythians: "If you, who make the request that you now do, had not been the first to injure the Persians, and begin war, you would have appeared to us to speak rightly, and we, yielding to your wishes, would have acted in concert with you. But in fact, you having invaded their territory without us, had the mastery of the Persians as long as the god allowed you; and they, when the same god instigates them, repay you like for like. We, how-

ever, neither on that occasion injured these men at all, nor will we now be the first to attempt to injure them. Nevertheless, should he invade our territory also, and become the aggressor, we will not submit to it. But until we see that, we will remain quiet at home ; for we think that the Persians are not coming against us, but against those who were the authors of wrong."

120. When the Scythians heard this answer brought back, they determined to fight no battle in the open field, because these allies did not come to their assistance ; but to retreat and draw off covertly, and fill up the wells they passed by, and the springs, and destroy the herbage on the ground, having divided their forces into two bodies, and *they resolved* that to one of the divisions, which Scopasis commanded, the Sauromatæ should attach themselves, and that they should retire, if the Persian should take that course, retreating direct to the river Tanais, along the lake Mæotis ; and when the Persian marched back, they were to follow him and harass his rear. This was one division of the kingdom appointed to pursue its march in the way that has been described. The two other divisions of the kingdom, the greater one, which Indathysus commanded, and the third, which Taxacis ruled over, *were directed* to act in conjunction, and, with the addition of the Geloni and Budini, to keep a day's march before the Persians, and gradually retreat, retiring slowly, and doing as had been determined : and first of all they were to withdraw direct towards the territories of those who had renounced their alliance, in order that they might bring the war upon them ; so that, though they would not willingly take part in the war against the Persians, they might be compelled to engage in it against their will ; afterwards they were to return to their own country, and attack the enemy, if, on consultation, it should seem advisable. 121. The Scythians, having come to this determination, went out to meet Darius's army, having sent forward the best of their cavalry as an advanced guard ; but the waggons, in which all their children and wives lived, and all the cattle, except so many as were necessary for their subsistence, which they left behind—the rest they sent forward with the waggons, ordering them to march continually towards the north. These, therefore, were carried to a distance.

122. When the advanced guard of the Scythians fell in with the Persians, about three days' march from the Ister, they, having fallen in with them, kept a day's march in advance, and encamped, and destroyed all the produce of the ground, but the Persians, when they saw the Scythian cavalry before them, followed their track, while they continually retired; and then, for they directed their march after one of the divisions, the Persians pursued towards the east and the Tanais; and when they had crossed the river Tanais, the Persians also crossed over and pursued them, until, having passed through the country of the Sauromatæ, they reached that of the Budini. 123. As long as the Persians were marching through the Scythian and Sauromatian regions, they had nothing to ravage, as the country was all barren; but when they entered the territory of the Budini, there meeting with the wooden town, the Budini having abandoned it, and the town being emptied of every thing, they set it on fire. Having done this, they continued to follow in the track of *the enemy*, until, having traversed this region, they reached the desert: this desert is destitute of inhabitants, and is situate above the territory of the Budini, and is a seven days' march in extent. Beyond the desert the Thyssagetæ dwell; and four large rivers, flowing from them through the Mæotians, discharge themselves into the lake called Mæotis; their names are these, Lycus, Oarus, Tanais, and Syrgis. 124. When Darius came to the desert, having ceased his pursuit, he encamped his army on the river Oarus. And having done this, he built eight large forts, equally distant from each other, about sixty stades apart, the ruins of which remain to this day. While he was employed about these, the Scythians who were pursued, having made a circuit of the upper parts, returned into Scythia: these having entirely vanished, when they could no longer be seen, Darius left the forts half finished, and himself wheeling round, marched westward, supposing them to be all the Scythians, and that they had fled to the west.

125. Advancing with his army as quick as possible, when he reached Scythia, he fell in with the two Scythian divisions, and having fallen in with them, he pursued them, but they kept a day's march before him. The Scythians, for Darius did not relax his pursuit, fled, as had been determined,

towards those nations that had refused to assist them, and first they entered the territories of the Melanchlæni; and when the Scythians and the Persians, entering into their country, had put all things into confusion, the Scythians led the way into the country of the Androphagi; and when they had been thrown into confusion, they retreated to Neuris; and when they were thrown into confusion, the Scythians advanced in their flight towards the Agathyrsi. But the Agathyrsi, seeing their neighbours flying before the Scythians, and thrown into confusion before the Scythians entered, despatched a herald, and forbade the Scythians to cross their borders; warning them that if they should attempt to force their way, they must first fight with them. The Agathyrsi having sent this message beforehand, advanced to protect their frontiers, determined to repel the invaders. Whereas the Melanchlæni, Androphagi, and Neuri, when the Persians and Scythians together invaded them, offered no resistance, but forgetting their former menaces, fled continually in great confusion northward, towards the desert. The Scythians no longer advanced towards the Agathyrsi, when they warned them not to do so, but departing from the Neurian territory, they led the Persians into their own.

126. When this had continued for a considerable time, and did not cease, Darius sent a horseman to Indathysus, king of the Scythians, with the following message: "Most miserable of men, why dost thou continually fly, when it is in thy power to do one of these two other things? For if thou thinkest thou art able to resist my power, stand, and having ceased thy wanderings, fight; but if thou art conscious of thy inferiority, in that case also cease thy hurried march, and bringing earth and water as presents to thy master, come to a conference." 127. To this Indathysus, the king of the Scythians, made answer as follows: "This is the case with me, O Persian; I never yet fled from any man out of fear, neither before, nor do I now so flee from thee; nor have I done any thing different now from what I am wont to do, even in time of peace; but why I do not forthwith fight thee, I will now explain. We have no cities nor cultivated lands, for which we are under any apprehension lest they should be taken or ravaged, and therefore should hastily offer you battle. Yet if it is by all means necessary to come to this at once, we have the se-

pulchres of our ancestors, come, find these, and attempt to disturb them, then you will know whether we will fight for our sepulchres or not ; but before that, unless we choose, we will not engage with thee. Thus much about fighting. The only masters I acknowledge are Jupiter my progenitor, and Vesta queen of the Scythians ; but to thee, instead of presents of earth and water, I will send such presents as are proper to come to thee. And in answer to thy boast, that thou art my master, I bid thee weep." (This is a Scythian saying.) The herald therefore departed carrying this answer to Darius.

128. The kings of the Scythians, when they heard the name of servitude, were filled with indignation ; whereupon they sent the division united with the Sauromatæ, which Scopasis commanded, with orders to confer with the Ionians, who guarded the bridge over the Ister. Those who were left resolved no longer to lead the Persians about, but to attack them whenever they were taking their meals ; accordingly, observing the soldiers of Darius taking their meals, they put their design in execution. The Scythian cavalry always routed the Persian cavalry, but the Persian horsemen in their flight fell back on the infantry, and the infantry supported them. The Scythians, having beaten back the cavalry, wheeled round through fear of the infantry. The Scythians also made similar attacks at night. 129. A very remarkable circumstance, that was advantageous to the Persians and adverse to the Scythians, when they attacked the camp of Darius, I will now proceed to mention : *this was* the braying of the asses, and the appearance of the mules ; for Scythia produces neither ass nor mule, as I have before observed ;⁵ nor is there in the whole Scythian territory a single ass or mule ; by reason of cold. The asses, then, growing wanton, put the Scythian horse into confusion ; and frequently, as they were advancing upon the Persians, when the horses heard, mid-way, the braying of the asses, they wheeled round in confusion, and were greatly amazed, pricking up their ears, as having never before heard such a sound, nor seen such a shape ; now this circumstance in some slight degree affected the fortune of the war.

130. The Scythians, when they saw the Persians in great

⁵ See chap. 28.

commotion, in order that they might remain longer in Scythia, and by remaining might be harassed through want of all things necessary, adopted the following expedient: when they had left some of their own cattle in the care of the herdsmen, they themselves withdrew to another spot; and the Persians coming up, took the cattle, and having taken them, exulted in what they had done. 131. When this had happened several times, at last Darius was in a great strait, and the kings of the Scythians, having ascertained this, sent a herald, bearing as gifts to Darius, a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The Persians asked the bearer of the gifts the meaning of this present; but he answered, that he had no other orders than to deliver them and return immediately; and he advised the Persians, if they were wise, to discover what the gifts meant. The Persians, having heard this, consulted together. 132. Darius's opinion was, that the Scythians meant to give themselves up to him, as well as earth and water; forming his conjecture thus; since a mouse is bred in the earth, and subsists on the same food as a man; a frog lives in the water; a bird is very like a horse; and the arrows they deliver up as their whole strength. This was the opinion given by Darius. But the opinion of Gobryas, one of the seven who had deposed the magus, did not coincide with this; he conjectured that the presents intimated: "Unless, O Persians, ye become birds and fly into the air, or become mice and hide yourselves beneath the earth, or become frogs and leap into the lakes, ye shall never return home again, but be stricken by these arrows." And thus the other Persians interpreted the gifts.

133. In the mean time that division of the Scythians, that had been before appointed to keep guard about the lake Mæotis, and then to confer with the Ionians at the Ister, when they arrived at the bridge, spoke as follows: "Men of Ionia, we are come bringing freedom to you, if only you will listen to us. We have heard that Darius commanded you to guard the bridge sixty days only, and if he did not come up within that time, then to return into your own country. Now therefore, if you do this, you will be free from all blame as regards him and as regards us; when you have waited the appointed number of days, after that depart." On the Ionians

promising to do so, the Scythians hastened back with all expedition.

134. The rest of the Scythians, after they had sent the presents to Darius, drew themselves opposite the Persians with their foot and horse, as if they intended to come to an engagement ; and as the Scythians were standing in their ranks, a hare started in the midst of them ; and each of them, as they saw the hare, went in pursuit of it. The Scythians being in great confusion, and shouting loudly, Darius asked the meaning of the uproar in the enemy's ranks ; but when he heard that they were pursuing a hare, he said to those he was accustomed to address on such occasions : " These men treat us with great contempt ; and I am convinced that Gobryas spoke rightly concerning the Scythian presents. Since, then, I am of opinion that the case is so, we have need of the best advice, how our return home may be effected in safety." To this Gobryas answered : " O king, I was in some measure acquainted by report with the indigence of these men ; but I have learned much more since I came hither, and seen how they make sport of us. My opinion therefore is, that as soon as night draws on, we should light fires, as we are accustomed to do, and having deceived those soldiers who are least able to bear hardships, and having tethered all the asses, should depart before the Scythians direct their march to the Ister, for the purpose of destroying the bridge, or the Ionians take any resolution which may occasion our ruin." Such was the advice of Gobryas. 135. Afterwards night came on, and Darius acted on this opinion : the infirm amongst the soldiers, and those whose loss would be of the least consequence, and all the asses tethered, he left on the spot in the camp. And he left the asses and the sick of his army for the following reason ; that the asses might make a noise : and the men were left on this pretext, namely, that he with the strength of his army was about to attack the Scythians, and they, during that time, would defend the camp. Darius, having laid these injunctions on those he was preparing to abandon, and having caused the fires to be lighted, marched away with all speed towards the Ister. The asses, being deserted by the multitude, began to bray much louder than usual ; so that the Scythians, hearing the asses, firmly believed that the

Persians were still at their station. 136. When day appeared, the men that were abandoned, discovering that they had been betrayed by Darius, extended their hands to the Scythians, and told them what had occurred : when they heard this, the two divisions of the Scythians, and the single one, the Sauromatæ, Budini, and Geloni, having joined their forces together as quickly as possible, pursued the Persians straight towards the Ister. But as a great part of the Persian army consisted of infantry, and they did not know the way, there being no roads cut, and as the Scythian army consisted of cavalry, and knew the shortest route, they missed each other, and the Scythians arrived at the bridge much before the Persians. And having learnt that the Persians were not yet arrived, they spoke to the Ionians who were on board the ships in these terms : “Men of Ionia, the number of days appointed for your stay is already passed, and you do not as you ought in continuing here ; but if you remained before through fear, now break up the passage and depart as quickly as possible, rejoicing that you are free, and give thanks to the gods and the Scythians. As for the man who before was your master, we will so deal with him, that he shall never hereafter make war on any people.”

137. Upon this the Ionians held a consultation. The opinion of Miltiades the Athenian, who commanded and reigned over the Chersonesites on the Hellespont, was, that they should comply with the request of the Scythians, and restore liberty to Ionia. But Histiaëus the Milesian was of a contrary opinion, and said, “that every one reigned over his own city through Darius ; and if Darius’s power should be destroyed, neither would he himself continue master of Miletus, nor any of the rest of other places ; because every one of the cities would choose to be governed rather by a democracy than a tyranny. Histiaëus had no sooner delivered this opinion, than all went over to his side, who had before assented to that of Miltiades. 138. These were they who gave their votes and were in high estimation with Darius ; the tyrants of the Hellespontines, Daphnis of Abydos, Hippocles of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium ; Metrodorus of Proconnesus, Aristagoras of Cyzicum, and Ariston of Byzantium ; these were from the Hellespont. From Ionia, Strattis of Chios, Æaces of Samos, Laodamas of Phocæa, and Histiaëus of Miletus, whose opinion was opposed

to that of Miltiades. Of the Æolians the only person of consideration present, was Aristagoras of Cyme.

139. When these men had approved the opinion of Histiaëus, they determined to add to it the following acts and words: to break up the bridge on the Scythian side, as far as a bow-shot might reach, that they might seem to do something, when in effect they did nothing; and that the Scythians might not attempt to use violence and purpose to cross the Ister by the bridge; and to say, while they were breaking up the bridge on the Scythian side, they would do every thing that might be agreeable to the Scythians. This, then, they added to the opinion of Histiaëus. And, afterwards, Histiaëus delivered the answer in the name of all, saying as follows: "Men of Scythia, you have brought us good advice, and urge it seasonably; you, on your part, have pointed out the right way to us, and we on ours readily submit to you; for, as you see, we are breaking up the passage, and will use all diligence, desiring to be free. But while we are breaking it up, it is fitting you should seek for them, and having found them, avenge us and yourselves on them, as they deserve." 140. The Scythians, believing a second time that the Ionians were sincere, turned back to seek the Persians; but entirely missed the way they had taken. The Scythians themselves were the cause of this, having destroyed the pastures for the horses in this direction, and having filled in the wells; for if they had not done this, they might easily have found the Persians if they wished; but now they erred in the very thing which they thought they had contrived for the best. For the Scythians sought the enemy by traversing those parts of the country where there was forage and water for the horses, thinking that they too would make their retreat by that way. But the Persians, carefully observing their former track, returned by it, and thus with difficulty found the passage. As they arrived in the night, and perceived the bridge broken off, they fell into the utmost consternation, lest the Ionians had abandoned them. 141. There was with Darius an Egyptian, who had an exceedingly loud voice. This man Darius commanded to stand on the bank of the Ister, and call Histiaëus the Milesian. He did so, and Histiaëus, having heard the first shout, brought up all the ships to carry the army across, and joined the bridge. Thus the Persians escaped. 142. The Scythians

in their search missed them a second time : and on the one hand, considering the Ionians as free and cowardly, they deem them to be the most base of men ; but on the other, accounting the Ionians as slaves, they say that they are most attached to their masters, and least inclined to run away. These reproaches the Scythians fling out against the Ionians.

143. Darius, marching through Thrace, reached Sestos in the Chersonesus ; and thence he himself crossed over on ship-board into Asia, and left Megabazus, a Persian, to be his general in Europe. Darius once paid this man great honour, having expressed himself in this manner in the presence of the Persians : Darius being about to eat some pomegranates, as soon as he opened the first, his brother Artabanus asked him, Of what thing he would wish to possess a number equal to the grains in the pomegranate. Darius said, that he would rather have as many Megabazuses, than Greece subject to him. By saying this, he honoured him in the presence of the Persians, and now he left him as general with eighty thousand men of his own army. 144. This Megabazus, by making the following remark, left an everlasting memorial of himself among the Hellespontines ; for when he was at Byzantium, he was informed that the Chalcedonians had settled in that country seventeen years before the Byzantians ; but when he heard it, he said, that the Chalcedonians must have been blind at that time, for if they had not been blind, they would never have chosen so bad a situation, when they might have had so beautiful a spot to settle in. This Megabazus, then, being left as general in the country of the Hellespontines, subdued those nations who were not in the interest of the Medes. He accordingly did this.

145. About the same time another great expedition was undertaken against Libya, on what pretext I will relate, when I have first given the following account by way of preface. The descendants of the Argonauts, being expelled from Lemnos by the Pelasgians who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron,⁶ set sail for Lacedæmon, and seating themselves on Mount Taygetus, lighted fires. The Lacedæmonians, having seen this, despatched a messenger to demand who and whence they were. They said to the messenger who questioned

⁶ See Book VI. chap. 138.

them, that "they were Minyæ, descendants of those heroes who sailed in the Argo, and that they, having touched at Lemnos, begot them." The Lacedæmonians, having heard this account of the extraction of the Minyæ, sent a second time to inquire with what design they had come to their territory, and lighted fires; they said, that being ejected by the Pelasgians, they had come to their fathers; for that it was most proper for them so to do; and they requested leave to dwell with them, participating in their honours, and being allotted a portion of land. The Lacedæmonians determined to receive the Minyæ on the terms they themselves proposed; and the sailing of the Tyndaridæ in the Argo especially induced them to do this: having, therefore, received the Minyæ, they assigned them a portion of land, and distributed them among their tribes, and they immediately contracted marriages, and gave to others the wives they brought from Lemnos. 146. But when no long time had elapsed, the Minyæ became insolent, and demanded a share in the sovereignty, and committed other crimes. The Lacedæmonians therefore determined to put them to death, and having seized them, they threw them into prison. Now those whom they kill, the Lacedæmonians kill by night, but no one by day. When, therefore, they were about to put them to death, the wives of the Minyæ, who were citizens, and daughters to the principal Spartans, begged permission to enter the prison, and confer each with her husband. The Lacedæmonians gave them permission, not suspecting any fraud on their part, but they, when they entered, did as follows: having given all the clothes they had on to their husbands, themselves took their husbands' clothes. Upon which, the Minyæ, having put on the women's dress, passed out as women, and having thus escaped, again seated themselves on Mount Taygetus.

147. At the same time Theras, son of Austesion, son to Tisamenus, son of Thersander, son of Polynices, set out from Lacedæmon on a colonizing expedition. This Theras was by birth a Cadmæan, brother to the mother of Aristodemus's sons, Eurysthenes and Procles; and while these youths were yet infants, Theras had the kingdom of Sparta under his guardianship. But when the youths were grown up and assumed the government, Theras, not brooking to be ruled by others after he had tasted the pleasures of power, declared

that he would not remain at Lacedæmon, but would sail away to his own kindred. In the island now called Thera, the same that was formerly Callista, lived the descendants of Membliares, the son of Pæciles a Phœnician. For Cadmus, son of Agenor, when in quest of Europa, touched at the island now called Thera ; and whether when he touched at it the country pleased him, or whether for some other reason he chose to do so, he left in this island both others of the Phœnicians, and, moreover, his own kinsman, Membliares : these men occupied the island, then called Callista, during eight generations, before Theras came from Lacedæmon. 148. To these people, then, Theras went, having, with a multitude drawn out of the tribes, set out, purposing to dwell with them, and on no account to drive them out, but by all means to conciliate them. But when the Minyæ who had escaped from the prison seated themselves on Mount Taygetus, as the Lacedæmonians determined to destroy them, Theras begged that they might not be put to death, and promised that he would himself take them out of the country. The Lacedæmonians acceding to his request, he set sail with three thirty-oared galleys, to the descendants of Membliares, taking with him not all the Minyæ, but some few of them ; for the greater number of them went over to Paroreates and Caucones ; and having driven them out from their country, distributed themselves into six divisions, and then founded the following cities there ; Leprium, Macistus, Phrixas, Pyrgus, Epium, and Nudium : most of these the Eleans have destroyed in my time. The name of Thera was given to the island after the founder. 149. His son refused to accompany him in his voyage, therefore he said that he would leave him as a sheep among wolves : in consequence of this speech, the name of Oiolyceus was given to this youth, and this name chanced to prevail. To this Oiolyceus was born Ægeus, from whom the Ægidæ, a principal tribe in Sparta, are named. As the children of the men of this tribe did not survive, they erected a temple, in obedience to an oracle, to the furies of Laius and Œdipus ; and after that, the same thing happened in Thera to those who were descended from these men.

150. To this part of the story the Lacedæmonians agree with the Theræans ; but after this, the Theræans only say

that what follows took place. Grinus, son of Æsanius, who was a descendant of this Theras, and reigned over the island Thera, came to Delphi, bringing a hecatomb from the city ; and divers of the citizens attended him, and among them, Battus, son to Polymnestus, who was of the family of Euphemus, one of the Minyæ. And as Grinus, king of the Theræans, was consulting the oracle concerning other affairs, the Pythian admonished him to "build a city in Libya." But he answered, "I, O prince, am now too old and heavy to move myself ; therefore command one of these young men to do this ;" and as he said these words, he pointed to Battus. At that time so much passed. But after their departure, they paid no attention to the oracle, neither knowing in what part of the world Libya was, nor daring to send out a colony on an uncertainty. 151. For seven years after this, no rain fell in Thera ; during which period, every tree in the island, except one, was withered up ; and when the Theræans consulted the oracle, the Pythian objected to them the colonization of Libya. When they found no remedy for the evil, they despatched messengers to Crete, to inquire if any of the Cretans, or strangers settled among them, had ever gone to Libya. These messengers, wandering about the island, arrived in the city of Itanus ; and here they became acquainted with a purple-dyer, whose name was Corobius ; he said, that being driven by the winds, he had gone to Libya, and to Platea, an island of Libya : having persuaded this man by a promise of reward, they took him to Thera. At first, men sailed from Thera to explore, not many in number : and when Corobius had conducted them to this island Platea, they left Corobius there with provisions for a few months, and themselves sailed back with all speed to give the Theræans tidings of the island. 152. But these men staying away longer than the time agreed upon, Corobius was reduced to the last necessity ; when a Samian vessel, whose master was Colæus, sailing for Egypt, was driven to this Platea. The Samians, having heard the whole account from Corobius, left him provisions for a year ; and they, having got under weigh from the island, and being anxious to reach Egypt, set sail, and were carried away by an east wind ; and as the wind did not abate, having passed through the columns of Hercules, they arrived at Tartessus, under divine guidance. That port was at that time unfrequented ; so that these men

returning home, gained from their cargo the largest profits of any of the Grecians we know of with certainty, next to Sos-tratus, son of Laodamas of Ægina, for with him it is impos-sible for any one to compete. The Samians, therefore, having set apart the tenth of their gains, amounting to six talents, made a vessel of brass, after the fashion of an Argolic bowl, and around it the heads of griffins project over ; and they dedicated it in the temple of Juno, having placed under it three colossal figures of brass, seven cubits in height, leaning on their knees. And on this occasion the Cyrenæans and Theræans first contracted a great friendship with the Sa-mians. 153. The Theræans, when they left Corobius in the island and returned to Thera, took back word that they had taken possession of an island off the coast of Libya: the Theræans therefore resolved to send one of every family,⁷ chosen by lot ; and to send men from all their districts, which were seven in number ; and appointed Battus to be their leader and king. Thus then they fitted out two fifty-oared galleys for Platea.

154. The Theræans give this account ; in the rest of the story the Theræans are supported by the Cyrenæans : for the Cyrenæans in no respect agree with the Theræans in what relates to Battus, for they tell the story thus. There is a city of Crete called Axus, in which Etearchus was king ; he having a motherless daughter, whose name was Phronima, married another wife ; she coming into the family, thought proper to be a stepmother indeed to Phronima, treating her shamefully, and contriving every mischief she could against her ; and at last, having charged her with unchastity, per-suaded her husband that such was the case. He, prevailed on by his wife, formed a wicked design against his daughter: There was then at Axus one Themison, a Theræan merchant ; this man Etearchus received hospitably, and made him swear that he would serve him in any thing he should desire. When he had bound him by oath, he delivered his daughter to him, and commanded him to take her away, and throw her into the sea. But Themison, grieved at the deceitfulness of the oath, broke off the compact of friendship, and did as fol-lows. Having taken the damsel with him, he set sail ; and

⁷ Literally "brother from brother."

when he was in the open sea, for the purpose of absolving himself from the oath imposed by Etearchus, he bound her round with ropes, and let her down into the sea; then having drawn her up again, he departed for Thera. 155. After that Polymnestus, a man of distinction among the Theræans, took Phronima for his concubine, and after some time he had a son by her, who had an impediment in his speech and lisped, to whom the name of Battus was given, as both the Theræans and Cyrenæans say; but, as I am of opinion, some other name; and it was afterwards changed to Battus when he arrived in Libya, deriving that name both from the oracle pronounced to him at Delphi, and from the rank to which he attained. For the Libyans call a king Battus, and for this reason I think that the Pythian, when delivering the oracle, addressed him in the Libyan tongue, knowing that he would be a king in Libya. For when he had reached man's estate, he came to Delphi about his voice; and to his inquiries the Pythian gave the following answer: "Battus, you are come about your voice; king Phœbus Apollo sends you to found a colony in Libya, abounding in sheep." As if she had said in the Grecian language, "O king, you are come about your voice." He answered as follows: "O king, I came indeed to consult you about my voice, but you give me an answer as to other impossible things, bidding me colonize Libya: with what power? with what force?" By saying this he did not persuade the Pythian to give him any other answer; and as she was repeating the same response as before, he in the mean while left her, and returned to Thera. 156. After this, Battus himself and the other Theræans fell anew into troubles; but the Theræans, not knowing whence their misfortunes came, sent to Delphi to inquire concerning their present sufferings. The Pythian answered, that it would fare better with them, when with Battus they had founded Cyrene in Libya. Upon this, the Theræans despatched Battus with two fifty-oared galleys. But these having sailed to Libya, for they had nothing else that they could do, returned back to Thera; the Theræans, however, beat them off as they drew to shore, and would not suffer them to approach the land, but commanded them to sail back again. Thus compelled, they sailed back again, and settled

in an island that lies off Libya, whose name, as I before mentioned, is Platea. This island is said to be equal in extent to the present city of the Cyrenæans.

157. Having inhabited this island for two years, as nothing turned out prosperously for them, they left one of their company behind, and the rest set sail for Delphi; and having come to the oracle, they consulted it, saying, that they had settled in Libya, and fared no better since they had settled there. But the Pythian gave them the following answer: "If you, who have never been there, know Libya abounding in sheep, better than I who have been there, I very much admire your wisdom." When Battus and his companions heard this, they sailed back again; for the god did not release them from founding the colony, until they had come to Libya itself. Having, therefore, arrived at the island, they took on board the man they had left there, and settled in a place on Libya itself, opposite the island: its name was Aziris, and most beautiful hills enclose it on two sides, and a river flows by it on the third. 158. They inhabited this spot for six years, but in the seventh, the Libyans, having promised to conduct them to a better place, persuaded them to leave it. But the Libyans, having removed them, conducted them from thence towards the west; and in order that the Greeks might not see the most beautiful part of their country as they passed through, they computed the time of the day, so as to lead them through it by night: the name of this country is Irasa. Having conducted them to a fountain, accounted sacred to Apollo, they said, "Grecians, here it is fitting for you to dwell, for here the heavens are open." 159. Now, during the life of Battus the founder, who reigned forty years, and of his son Arcesilaus, who reigned sixteen years, the Cyrenæans continued the same in number as when they were first sent to settle the colony: but under the third king, Battus, surnamed the Fortunate, the Pythian by an oracle encouraged all Grecians to sail to Libya, and join the Cyrenæans in colonizing it; for the Cyrenæans invited them to a division of the country. The words of the oracle were these: "He who shall come too late to lovely Libya, when the land is divided, shall hereafter one day repent." A great multitude having assembled at Cyrene, the neighbouring Libyans and their king, whose name was Adicran, being curtailed of much of

their land, finding that they were deprived of their territory, and injuriously treated by the Cyrenæans, sent an embassy to Egypt, and gave themselves up to Apries, king of Egypt : but he, having assembled a large army of Egyptians, sent it against Cyrene ; and the Cyrenæans, having drawn out their forces to the district of Irasa, and near the fountain Thestes, came to an engagement with the Egyptians, and conquered them : for the Egyptians, not having before made trial of the Greeks, and despising them, were so thoroughly defeated, that only a few of them returned to Egypt. In consequence of this, the Egyptians, laying the blame on Apries, revolted from him.

160. This Battus had a son, Arcesilaus, who, having come to the throne, first of all quarrelled with his own brothers, so that they left him, and went to another part of Libya ; and consulting among themselves, they founded the city which was then and is still called Barce ; and as they were building it, they persuaded the Libyans to revolt from the Cyrenæans. But afterwards Arcesilaus led an army against those Libyans who had received them, and against the revolters themselves ; but the Libyans, through dread of him, fled to the eastern Libyans. Arcesilaus pursued them in their flight, until he overtook them at Leucon in Libya, and the Libyans resolved to attack him ; and having come to an engagement, they conquered the Cyrenæans so completely, that seven thousand heavy-armed of the Cyrenæans fell upon the spot. After this blow, his brother Learchus strangled Arcesilaus, who was sick, and under the influence of some drug. The wife of Arcesilaus, whose name was Eryxo, put Learchus to death by stratagem.

161. Battus the son of Arcesilaus, a lame man, and not perfect in his feet, succeeded to the kingdom. The Cyrenæans, on account of the disaster that had befallen them, sent to Delphi to inquire of the Delphian oracle under what form of government they might live most happily ; the Pythian commanded them to procure an arbitrator from Mantinea, a city of the Arcadians. The Cyrenæans accordingly asked, and the Mantineans gave them a man, highly esteemed among the citizens, whose name was Demonax. This person, therefore, having arrived in Cyrene, and become acquainted with the state of affairs, first of all formed them into three tribes, dividing them as follows : of the Theræans and their immediate neighbours, he formed one division ; another of Peloponnesians and Cretans ; and a

third of all the Islanders : and in the next place, having reserved certain portions of land and the office of the priesthood for king Battus, he restored to the people every thing else that the kings had before.

162. During the reign of this Battus matters continued in this state ; but in the time of his son Arcesilaus great disorders arose about the public offices. For Arcesilaus, son of the lame Battus and Pheretime, declared he would not submit to the constitutions of Demonax, but demanded back the prerogatives of his ancestors ; and thereupon having raised a sedition, he was defeated, and fled to Samos ; and his mother fled to Salamis, in Cyprus. At that time Euelthon bore rule over Salamis, the same who dedicated the curious censer at Delphi, which is deposited in the treasury of the Corinthians. Pheretime, having come to him, asked for an army, which should reinstate them in Cyrene ; but Euelthon would give her any thing rather than an army : but she, accepting what was given, said, “ This indeed is handsome, but it would be still more handsome to give the army she asked for : ” this she said at every present that was made. At last, Euelthon sent her a golden spindle and distaff, and some wool was on it ; and when Pheretime again made the same speech, Euelthon said, “ that women should be presented with such things, and not with armies.” 163. In the mean time Arcesilaus, continuing at Samos, collected men of all classes, by a promise of a division of lands ; and when a large army was collected, Arcesilaus set out to Delphi, to consult the oracle concerning his return ; and the Pythian gave him the following answer : “ Apollo grants you to reign over Cyrene, during the time of four Battuses and four Arcesilauses, eight generations of men ; he advises you however not to attempt any more than this. Do you therefore be quiet and return home ; and if you find a furnace full of amphoræ, do not bake the amphoræ, but send them away with a favourable wind. But if you heat the furnace, enter not into a place surrounded with water ; otherwise you will perish yourself, and the most beautiful bull.” 164. The Pythian gave this answer to Arcesilaus ; but he, having taken with him the men from Samos, returned to Cyrene ; and having recovered the mastery, he forgot the oracle, and exacted vengeance of the adverse party for his own exile ; so that some of them

abandoned their country altogether; and others Arcesilaus seized and sent to Cyprus to be put to death: now these last, being carried to their country, the Cnidians rescued, and sent away to Thera. Some others of the Cyrenians, who had taken refuge in a large private tower belonging to Aglomachus, Arcesilaus surrounded with wood and burnt. After this was done, understanding that this was the meaning of the oracle, that the Pythian forbade him, when he found amphoræ in a furnace, to bake them, he of his own accord withdrew from the city of the Cyrenæans, dreading the predicted death, and supposing that Cyrene was the place surrounded with water. He had a wife who was his own kinswoman, and daughter to the king of the Barcæans, whose name was Alazir; to him he retired: and the Barcæans, and some of the exiles from Cyrene, having discovered him in the public place, killed him, and moreover his father-in-law Alazir. Thus Arcesilaus, whether wilfully or otherwise, disobeying the oracle, accomplished his own destiny.

165. While Arcesilaus was living at Barce, working out his own destruction, his mother Pheretime held the honours of her son at Cyrene, both exercising his other functions, and taking her seat in the council; but when she heard that her son had been put to death at Barce, she fled to Egypt; for Arcesilaus had performed some services for Cambyses son of Cyrus, for it was this Arcesilaus who gave Cyrene to Cambyses, and imposed a tribute on himself. Pheretime having arrived in Egypt, seated herself as a suppliant of Aryandes, entreating him to avenge her, alleging as a pretext, that her son had died in consequence of his attachment to the Medes.

166. Aryandes had been appointed governor of Egypt by Cambyses; he in succeeding time was put to death for attempting to make himself equal with Darius. For having been informed that Darius desired to leave such a memorial of himself as had been accomplished by no other king, he imitated him until he received the reward of *his presumption*. For Darius, having refined gold to the utmost perfection, coined money; and Aryandes, governor of Egypt, made the same in silver; now this Aryandian silver is the purest. But Darius, when informed that he had done this, brought another charge against him, that he designed to rebel, and put him to death. 167. At that time, however, this Aryandes, taking

compassion on Pheretime, gave her all the forces of Egypt, both army and navy ; and he appointed Amasis, a Maraphian, commander of the army ; and of the fleet, Badres, a Pasargadian by birth. But before he despatched the forces, he sent a herald to Barce, to inquire who it was that had slain Arce-silaus. All the Barcæans took it upon themselves ; for that they had suffered many injuries at his hands. And when Aryandes received their answer, he despatched the army with Pheretime. Now this cause was only a pretext for his proceeding ; but in my opinion, the expedition was undertaken with the intention of subduing the Libyans. For there are many and various nations of Libyans, and some few of them were subject to the king, but the greater part paid no regard to Darius.

168. The Libyans dwell as follows. Beginning from Egypt the Adrymachidæ are the first of the Libyans we meet with : they for the most part observe the usages of Egypt, but they wear the same dress as the other Libyans. The women wear a chain of brass on each leg ; they let their hair grow long, and when they catch vermin, each bites those from her own person, and then throws them away ; these alone of the Libyans do this ; and they alone exhibit to the king their virgins who are about to marry ; and should any one be agreeable to the king, she is deflowered by him. These Adrymachidæ reach from Egypt to the harbour named Plunus. 169. Next to these are the Giligammæ, who occupy the country westward, as far as the island Aphrodisias. Midway on this coast the island of Platea is situate, which the Cyrenæans colonized, and on the continent is the port of Menelaus, with Aziris, which the Cyrenæans inhabited. At this place *the plant* Silphium is first found, and extends from the island of Platea to the mouth of the Syrtis. These people use nearly the same customs as the others. 170. The Asbystæ adjoin the Giligammæ westward ; they inhabit the country above Cyrene, but the Asbystæ do not reach to the sea ; for the Cyrenæans occupy the sea-coast. They drive four-horsed chariots, more than any of the Libyans ; and endeavour to imitate most of the customs of the Cyrenæans. 171. The Auschisæ adjoin the Asbystæ westward ; these are situate above Barce, extending to the sea near the Euesperides. In the midst of the territory of the Auschisæ, the

Cabales, a small nation, dwell, extending to Tauchira, a city of Barcæa. They observe the same customs as those who dwell above Cyrene. 172. The Nasamones, a very numerous people, adjoin these Auschisæ westward. In summer they leave their cattle on the coast, and go up to the region of Augila, in order to gather the fruit of the palm-trees, which grow in great numbers and of a large size, and are all productive. When they have caught locusts, they dry them in the sun, reduce them to powder, and sprinkling them in milk, drink them. Every man, by the custom of the country, has several wives, and they have intercourse with them in common ; and much the same as the Massagetæ, they have intercourse when they have set up a staff before them. When a Nasamonian first marries, it is the custom for the bride on the first night to lie with all the guests in turn, and each, when he has intercourse with her, gives her some present which he has brought from home. In their oaths and divinations they observe the following custom : they swear, laying their hands on the sepulchres of those who are generally esteemed to have been the most just and excellent persons among them : and they divine, going to the tombs of their ancestors, and after having prayed, they lie down to sleep, and whatever dream they have, this they avail themselves of. In pledging their faith they observe the following method : each party gives the other to drink out of his hand, and drinks in turn from the other's hand ; and if they have no liquid, they take up some dust from the ground and lick it.

173. The Psylli border on the Nasamonians ; these perished in the following manner : the south wind blowing upon them dried up all their water tanks, and the whole country within the Syrtis was dry ; they therefore, having consulted together, with one consent determined to make war against that wind ; (I only repeat what the Libyans say ;) and when they arrived at the sands, the south wind blowing covered them over : and when they had perished the Nasamonians took possession of their territory. 174. Above these to the north, in a country abounding with wild beasts, live the Garamantes, who avoid all men and the society of any others : they do not possess any warlike weapon, nor do they know how to defend themselves. 175. These then live above the Nasamonians ; and the Macæ adjoin them on the sea-coast, westward ; these shave their heads so as to

leave a tuft, and allowing the middle hair to grow, they shave both sides close to the skin ; in war they wear the skins of ostriches for defensive armour. The river Cinyps, flowing through their country from a hill called the Graces, discharges itself into the sea. This hill of the Graces is thickly covered with trees, though all the rest of Libya above mentioned is bare. From the sea to this hill is a distance of two hundred stades. 176. The Gindanes adjoin these Macæ ; their women wear bands of leather round their ancles, each several on the following account, as is said ; she binds round a band for every man that has intercourse with her ; and she who has the most is most esteemed, as being loved by the greatest number of men. 177. The Lotophagi occupy the coast that projects to the sea in front of these Gindanes ; they subsist only on the fruit of the lotus ; and the fruit of the lotus is equal in size to the mastic berry, and in sweetness it resembles the fruit of the palm-tree. The Lotophagi make wine also from this fruit.

178. The Machlyes, who also use the lotus, but in a less degree than those before mentioned, adjoin the Lotophagi on the sea-coast. They extend as far as a large river called Triton ; and this river discharges itself into the great lake Tritonis ; and in it is an island named Phla. They say that the Lacedæmonians were commanded by an oracle to colonize this island. 179. The following story is also told ; that Jason, when the Argo was finished building at the foot of Mount Pelion, having put a hecatomb on board, and moreover a brazen tripod, sailed round the Peloponnesus, purposing to go to Delphi ; and as he was sailing off Malea, a north wind caught him and drove him to Libya ; and before he could discern the land, he found himself in the shallows of the lake Tritonis : and as he was in doubt how to extricate *his ship*, the story goes that a Triton appeared to him, and bid Jason give him the tripod, promising that he would both show them the passage, and conduct them away in safety. When Jason consented, the Triton thereupon showed them the passage out of the shallows, and placed the tripod in his own temple ; then pronouncing an oracle from the tripod, he declared to Jason and his companions all that should happen, that “when one of the descendants of those who sailed with him in the Argo should carry away the tripod, then it was fated that a hundred Grecian

cities should be built about the lake Tritonis :” the neighbouring nations of the Libyans, when they heard this, concealed the tripod. 180. The Auses adjoin these Machlyes ; they, as well as the Machlyes, dwell round the lake Tritonis, and the Triton forms the boundary between them. The Machlyes let the hair grow on the back of the head, and the Auses on the front. At the annual festival of Minerva, their virgins, dividing themselves into two companies, fight together with stones and staves, affirming that they perform the ancient rites to their native goddess, whom we call Minerva : and those of the virgins who die from their wounds they call false virgins. But before they leave off fighting, they do as follows ; with one consent they on each occasion deck the virgin that excels in beauty, with a Corinthian helmet, and a suit of Grecian armour, and having placed her in a chariot, conduct her round the lake. In what way they formerly decorated the virgins before the Grecians settled in their neighbourhood, I am unable to say ; but I conjecture that they were decked in Egyptian armour, for I am of opinion, that the shield and helmet were brought from Egypt into Greece. They say, that Minerva is the daughter of Neptune and the lake Tritonis ; and that she being for some reason offended with her father, gave herself to Jupiter, and that Jupiter adopted her as his own daughter : this they say. They have promiscuous intercourse with the women, and do not cohabit, and associate like beasts. The men meet together every third month, and when a woman has a child grown up, he is considered to be the son of that man whom he most resembles.

181. Those then of the Libyan nomades who live on the sea-coast have been mentioned. Above these, inland, Libya abounds in wild beasts ; and beyond the wild beast tract is a ridge of sand, stretching from the Egyptian Thebes to the columns of Hercules. At intervals of a ten days’ journey in this ridge, there are pieces of salt in large lumps on hills ; and at the top of each hill, from the midst of the salt, cold and sweet water gushes up ; and around it dwell people the farthest towards the desert, and beyond the wild-beast tract. The first after a ten days’ journey from Thebes are the Ammonians, who have a temple resembling that of Theban Jupiter. For, as I said before, the image of Jupiter at Thebes has the head of a ram. They have also another kind of spring water

which in the morning is tepid, becomes colder about the time of full forum, and at mid-day is very cold ; then they water their gardens. As the day declines it gradually loses its coldness, till the sun sets, then the water becomes tepid again, and continuing to increase in heat till midnight, it then boils and bubbles up ; when midnight is passed, it gets cooler until morning. This fountain is called after the sun. 182. Next to the Ammonians, along the ridge of sand, at the end of another ten days' journey, there is a hill of salt, like that of the Ammonians, and water, and men live round it : the name of this region is Augila ; to this place the Nasamonians go to gather the dates. 183. From the Augilæ at the end of another ten days' journey is another hill of salt and water, and many fruit-bearing palm-trees, as also in the other places ; and men inhabit it who are called Garamantes, a very powerful nation ; they lay earth upon the salt, and then sow their ground. From these to the Lotophagi the shortest route is a journey of thirty days : amongst them the kine that feed backwards are met with ; they feed backwards for this reason : they have horns that are bent forward, therefore they draw back as they feed ; for they are unable to go forward, because their horns would stick in the ground. They differ from other kine in no other respect than this, except that their hide is thicker and harder. These Garamantes hunt the Ethiopian Troglodytes in four-horse chariots ; for the Ethiopian Troglodytes are the swiftest of foot of all men of whom we have heard any account given. The Troglodytes feed upon serpents and lizards, and such kind of reptiles : they speak a language like no other, but screech like bats.

184. At the distance of another ten days' journey from the Garamantes, is another hill of salt, and water, and men live round it who are called Atarantes ; they are the only people we know of who have not personal names. For the name Atarantes belongs to them collectively, but to each one of them no name is given. They curse the sun as he passes over their heads, and moreover utter against him the foulest invectives, because he consumes them by his scorching heat, both the men themselves and their country. Afterwards, at the end of another ten days' journey, there is another hill of salt, and water, and men live round it ; and near this salt is a mountain, which is called Atlas ; it is narrow and circular on

all sides, and is said to be so lofty, that its top can never be seen ; for it is never free from clouds, either in summer or winter. The inhabitants say that it is the Pillar of Heaven. From this mountain these men derive their appellation, for they are called Atlantes. They are said neither to eat the flesh of any animal, nor to see visions. 185. As far, then, as these Atlantes I am able to mention the names of the nations that inhabit this ridge, but not beyond them. This ridge, however, extends as far as the pillars of Hercules, and even beyond them ; and there is a mine of salt in it at intervals of ten days' journey, and men dwelling there. The houses of them all are built of blocks of salt, for in these parts of Libya no rain falls ; for walls being of salt could not stand long if rain did fall. The salt dug out there is white and purple in appearance. Above this ridge, to the south and interior of Libya, the country is desert, without water, without animals, without rain, and without wood ; and there is no kind of moisture in it.

186. Thus, then, as far as the lake Tritonis from Egypt, the Libyans are nomades, eat flesh, and drink milk, but they do not taste the flesh of cows, for the same reason as the Egyptians, nor do they breed swine. Indeed, not only do the women of the Cyrenæans think it right to abstain from the flesh of cows, out of respect to Isis in Egypt, but they also observe the fasts and festivals in honour of her : and the women of the Barcæans do not taste the flesh of swine in addition to that of cows. These things, then, are so. 187. Westward of the lake Tritonis, the Libyans are no longer nomades, nor do they follow the same customs, nor do they do with respect to their children what the nomades are accustomed to do : for the nomadic Libyans, whether all I am unable to say with certainty, but many of them do as follows : when their children are four years old, they burn the veins on the crown of their heads, with uncleaned sheep's wool ; and some of them *do it* on the veins in the temples ; to the end that humours flowing down from the head may not injure them as long as they live : and, for this reason, they say they are so very healthy, for the Libyans are in truth the most healthy of all men with whom we are acquainted ; whether from this cause, I am unable to say with certainty : however, they are the most healthy. But if convulsions seize the children when

they are burning them, they have a remedy discovered ; by sprinkling them with the urine of a he-goat, they restore them. I repeat what the Libyans themselves say. 188. These Libyan nomades have the following sacrificial rites. When they have first cut off the ear of the victim, they throw it over the house ; and having done this, they twist its neck. They sacrifice only to the sun and moon ; to them, indeed, all the Libyans offer sacrifice : but those who live about the lake Tritonis, sacrifice principally to Minerva, and next to Triton and Neptune. 189. From the Libyan women the Grecians derived the attire and ægis of Minerva's statues ; for, except that the dress of the Libyan women is leather, and the fringes that hang from the ægis are not serpents, but made of thongs, in all other respects they are equipped in the same way : and, moreover, the very name proves that the garb of the Palladia comes from Libya ; for the Libyan women throw over their dress, goats' skins without the hair, fringed and dyed with red. From these goats' skins the Grecians have borrowed the name of Ægis. And the howlings in the temples were, I think, first derived from thence ; for the Libyan women practise the same custom, and do it well. The Grecians also learnt from the Libyans to yoke four horses abreast. 190. All the nomades, except the Nasamonians, inter their dead in the same manner as the Grecians : these bury them in a sitting posture, watching when one is about to expire, that they may set him up, and he may not die supine. Their dwellings are compacted of the asphodel shrub, interwoven with rushes, and are portable. Such are the customs of these people.

191. To the west of the river Triton, Libyans who are husbandmen next adjoin the Auses ; they are accustomed to live in houses, and are called Maxyes. They let the hair grow on the right side of the head, and shave the left ; and bedaub the body with vermilion : they say that they are descended from men *who came* from Troy. This region, and all the rest of Libya westward, is much more infested by wild beasts and more thickly wooded than the country of the nomades ; for the eastern country of Libya, which the nomades inhabit, is low and sandy, as far as the river Triton ; but the country westward of this, which *is occupied* by agriculturists, is very mountainous, woody, and abounds with wild beasts. For amongst them there are enormous serpents, and lions, ele-

phants, bears, asps, and asses with horns, and monsters with dogs' heads and without heads, who have eyes in their breasts, at least as the Libyans say, and wild men and wild women, and many other wild beasts *which are* not fabulous. 192. None of these things are found among the nomades, but others of the following kind ; pygargi, antelopes, buffaloes, and asses, not such as have horns, but others that do not drink ; for they never drink ; and oryes, from the horns of which are made the elbows of the Phœnician citherns ; in size this beast is equal to an ox : and foxes, hyænas, porcupines, wild rams, dictyes, thoes, panthers, boryes, and land crocodiles about three cubits long, very much like lizards ; ostriches, and small serpents, each with one horn. These, then, are the wild animals in that country, besides such as are met with elsewhere, except the stag and the wild boar ; but the stag and the wild boar are never seen in Libya. They have three sorts of mice there ; some called dipodes, *or two-footed* ; others, zegeries, this name is Libyan, and means the same as the word signifying hillocks in Greek ; and hedgehogs. There are also weasels produced in the silphium, very like those at Tartessus. The land of the Libyan nomades produces wild animals of the above description, as far as I by the most diligent inquiry have been able to ascertain.

193. The Zaveces adjoin the Maxyan Libyans ; their women drive their chariots in war. 194. The Gyzantes adjoin them ; amongst them bees make a great quantity of honey, and it is said that confectioners make much more. All these paint themselves with vermilion, and eat monkeys, which abound in their mountains. 195. Near them, the Carthaginians say, lies an island called Cyraunis, two hundred stades in length, inconsiderable in breadth, easy of access from the continent, and abounding in olive trees and vines. *They add*, that in it is a lake, from the mud of which the virgins of the country draw up gold dust by means of feathers daubed with pitch. Whether this is true I know not, but I write what is related ; it may be so however, for I have myself seen pitch drawn up out of a lake and from water in Zacynthus ; and there are several lakes there, the largest of them is seventy feet every way, and two orgyæ in depth : into this they let down a pole with a myrtle branch fastened to the end, and then draw up pitch adhering to the myrtle ; it has the

smell of asphalt, but is in other respects better than the pitch of Pieria. They pour it into a cistern dug near the lake, and when they have collected a sufficient quantity, they pour it off from the cistern into jars. All that falls into the lake passes under ground, and appears again upon the surface of the sea, which is about four stades distant from the lake. Thus, then, the account given of the island that lies off Libya may probably be true. 196. The Carthaginians further say, that beyond the pillars of Hercules there is a region of Libya and men who inhabit it : when they arrive among these people and have unloaded their merchandise, they set it in order on the shore, go on board their ships, and make a great smoke : that the inhabitants, seeing the smoke, come down to the sea, and then deposit gold in exchange for the merchandise, and withdraw to some distance from the merchandise ; that the Carthaginians then, going ashore, examine *the gold*, and if the quantity seems sufficient for the merchandise they take it up and sail away ; but if it is not sufficient, they go on board their ships again and wait ; the natives then approach and deposit more gold, until they have satisfied them : neither party ever wrongs the other ; for they do not touch the gold before it is made adequate to the value of the merchandise, nor do the natives touch the merchandise before the other party has taken the gold.

197. Such are the Libyans, whose names I have been able to mention ; and most of these neither now nor at that time paid any regard to the king of the Medes. But I have still this much to say about this country, that four distinct races inhabit it, and no more, as far as we know : two of these races are indigenous, and two not. The Libyans and Ethiopians are indigenous, the one inhabiting the northern, the other the southern parts of Libya ; but the Phœnicians and Greeks are foreigners. 198. No part of Libya appears to me so good in fertility as to be compared with Asia or Europe, except only the district of Cinyps ; for the land bears the same name as the river, and is equal to the best land in the production of corn : nor is it at all like the rest of Libya ; for the soil is black, and well watered with springs ; and it is neither affected at all by drought, nor is it injured by imbibing too much rain ; for rain falls in this part of Libya. The proportion of the produce of this land equals that of

Babylon. The land also which the Euesperides occupy is good ; for when it yields its best, it produces a hundred-fold ; but that in Cinyrs three hundred-fold. 199. The district of Cyrene, which is the highest of that part of Libya which the nomades occupy, has three seasons, *a circumstance* worthy of admiration ; for the first fruits near the sea swell so as to be ready for the harvest and vintage ; and when these are gathered in, the fruits of the middle region, away from the sea, swell so as to be gathered in, these they call uplands ; and when this middle harvest has been gathered in, that in the highest part becomes ripe and swells. So that when the first crop has been drunk and eaten, the last comes in. Thus harvest occupies the Cyrenæans during eight months. This may be sufficient to say concerning these things.

200. The Persians sent to avenge Pheretime, when, having been despatched from Egypt by Aryandes, they arrived at Barce, laid siege to the city, demanding the surrender of the persons concerned in the death of Arcesilaus ; but as the whole people were implicated, they did not listen to the proposal. Thereupon they besieged Barce for nine months, digging passages under ground that reached to the walls, and making vigorous assaults. Now the excavations a worker of brass discovered by means of a brazen shield, having recourse to the following expedient ; carrying it round within the wall, he applied it to the ground within the city : in other places to which he applied it, it made no noise, but at the parts that were excavated, the brass of the shield sounded. The Barcæans, therefore, countermining them in that part, slew the Persians who were employed in the excavation ; thus then this was discovered ; but the assaults the Barcæans repulsed. 201. When much time had been spent, and many had fallen on both sides, and not the fewest on the side of the Persians, Amasis, general of the land forces, had recourse to the following stratagem : finding that the Barcæans could not be taken by force, but might be by artifice, he did thus : having dug a wide pit by night, he laid weak planks of wood over it, and on the surface over the planks he spread a heap of earth, making it level with the rest of the ground. At day-break he invited the Barcæans to a conference, but they gladly assented, so that at last they were pleased to come to terms : and they made an agreement of the following nature, concluding the

treaty over the concealed pit: "That as long as this earth shall remain as it is, the treaty should continue in force; and that the Barcæans should pay a reasonable tribute to the king, and that the Persians should form no new designs against the Barcæans." After the treaty the Barcæans, confiding in the Persians, both themselves went out of the city, and allowed any one of the Persians who chose to pass within the wall, having thrown open all the gates. But the Persians, having broken down the concealed bridge, rushed within the wall: and they broke down the bridge that they had made for the following reason, that they might keep their oath, having made a compact with the Barcæans, that the treaty should continue so long as the earth should remain as it then was; but when they had broken down the bridge, the treaty no longer remained in force.

202. Those of the Barcæans who were most to blame, Pheretime impaled round the walls, when they had been delivered up to her by the Persians; and having cut off the breasts of their wives, she also studded the wall with them. The rest of the Barcæans she gave up as booty to the Persians, except such of them as were Battiadæ, and had not participated in the murder; to these Pheretime intrusted the city. 203. The Persians therefore, having reduced the rest of the Barcæans to slavery, took their departure; and when they halted at the city of the Cyrenæans, the Cyrenæans, to absolve themselves from obedience to some oracle, permitted them to pass through the city. But as the army was going through, Bares, the commander of the naval forces, urged them to take the city; but Amasis, the commander of the land forces, would not allow it, "for that he was sent against no other Grecian city than that of Barce." However, when they had passed through, and encamped on the hill of the Lycæan Jupiter, they began to repent that they had not possessed themselves of Cyrene, and attempted to enter it a second time. But the Cyrenæans would not suffer them, and a panic struck the Persians, although no one attacked them; and having run away for a distance of sixty stades, they pitched their camp. When the army was encamped here, a messenger came from Aryandes, to recal them. The Persians, having requested the Cyrenæans to give them provisions for their march, obtained their request, and having received

them, marched away towards Egypt. And from thence the Libyans, laying wait for them, put to death those that strayed and loitered behind, for the sake of their dress and baggage, until they reached Egypt. 204. The farthest point of Africa to which this Persian army penetrated was the country of the Euesperides. The Barcæans, whom they had enslaved, they transported from Egypt to the king; and king Darius gave them a village in the district of Bactria, to dwell in. They gave then the name of Barce to this village, which was still inhabited in my time, in the Bactrian territory. 205. Phere-time, however, did not close her life happily; for immediately after she returned from Libya to Egypt, having avenged herself on the Barcæans, she died miserably; for even while alive she swarmed with maggots. So odious to the gods are the excesses of human vengeance. Such and so great was the vengeance of Phertime, wife of Battus, on the Barcæans.